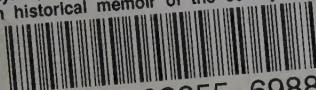


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AN
HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF THE COLONY OF
NEW PLYMOUTH,
FROM THE FLIGHT OF THE PILGRIMS INTO HOLLAND IN
THE YEAR 1608, TO THE UNION OF THAT COLONY
WITH MASSACHUSETTS IN 1692.

BY FRANCIS BAYLIES.

WITH SOME CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS, AND A
COPIOUS INDEX,

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

VOLUME II.
CONTAINING PARTS THREE, FOUR AND FIVE.

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AN
HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF THE COLONY OF
NEW PLYMOUTH.
PART III.

BEING

A NARRATIVE

OF THE INDIAN WAR

IN 1675 AND 1676.

BY FRANCIS BAYLIES.





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PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH many of the occurrences in the great Indian war of 1675 and 1676 took place in Massachusetts, and some in Rhode Island, yet it was occasioned by a quarrel between the colony of Plymouth and the sachem of Mount Hope; it commenced in the latter colony, and there it terminated. Philip and his conqueror were natives of the same country; one, of the Indian Pokanoket, the other of the English Plymouth, and the Governor of Plymouth commanded the forces of the confederacy. The war, it is true, was general, but Plymouth was the principal party, and it was waged on her account, and at her instigation, in compliance with the obligations of the articles of the confederation;—therefore there seemed to be an evident propriety in making its history a part of the history of Plymouth, which cannot be complete without it. So homogeneous was its character, that to have omitted the events, which occurred in the other colonies, would have rendered the narrative imperfect, and sometimes obscure.



HISTORICAL MEMOIR

OF

PLYMOUTH COLONY.

PART III.

A NARRATIVE OF THE INDIAN WAR IN 1675 AND 1676.

FROM the termination of the Pequot War, and the consequent subjection of that tribe in 1637 to 1675, the period of Philip's war, the tranquillity of New England had been undisturbed. That war was productive of no disasters to Plymouth; the troops of the colony it is true, took the field, but before they reached the hostile country the war was terminated; so sudden and so complete was the overthrow of the Pequots.

Pequot
war.

From the time when Standish attacked the Indians in the vicinity of Weston's plantation in 1624, not a drop of their blood had been shed in war by the English settlers of Plymouth, and the peace of the colony had endured for fifty years without interruption.

Long
peace.

Some disputes had arisen, and some threats had been uttered by the Indians, and the son and successor of

Massasoiet had been suspected and seized as has been related, but no violences followed, and the threats soon subsided into murmurs.

That bold, hardy and stern race, who first settled the wilderness of New England, (amongst whom were men trained to arms and familiar with battles,) had, with few exceptions, found their graves in its bosom. Their successors were no less devoted to piety and religion, but no circumstances had occurred to call forth that resolute and intrepid character for which their fathers were so much distinguished.

Friendly
inter-
course
between
the Eng-
lish and
Indians.

By long and familiar intercourse, the antipathies of the two races had been softened, and each had acquired that kind of regard for the other, which is sure to exist between those who are in habits of constant intercourse, however different in blood, manners, language, religion and customs. The English were not indifferent to the happiness or rights of the Indians, and unlike their fathers, would not have excused the violation of either by a text from the scriptures.

English
settle-
ments in
that part
of the Ply-
mouth
jurisdic-
tion, now
the coun-
ties of
Plymouth
and Bris-
tol.

After the aboriginal title had been extinguished, the English settlers first occupied that part of the Indian country which had been depopulated by the pestilence, and here were situated the towns of Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, and Marshfield, on the coast, and Taunton, Rehoboth, and Bridgewater, in the interior. In Middleborough, a few natives who had escaped the common desolation, were resident at Namasket and Tettiquet, but their numbers were so inconsiderable, that they readily sold the larger part of their lands to the English, reserving an ample sufficiency to themselves.

The pestilence had spared the ancient town of Swansea, and when the English arrived, it was inhabited by a part of the tribe which was governed by the sachem Cor-

bitant. But all the Swansey lands, with the exception of a fertile neck called Shewamet had been sold to the English and the settlers had spread themselves throughout the town.

A grant had been made by the General Court of Plymouth, in 1656, of a tract of unoccupied land, which afterwards constituted the town of Freetown, upon which no settlements had been made.

Near this tract a small neck or peninsula, called Assonet, lying between Taunton river and Assonet Bay, (afterwards annexed to Taunton,) was yet reserved by the Indians. They still retained Pocasset and Punkateese, (now in Tiverton.) A Duxbury company had purchased a part of the Saconet lands, and had commenced a settlement, but the settlers did not exceed five or six, and they were seated on insulated tracts. The Saconet tribe still occupied the long neck known by the name of Saconet Point. This tribe was under the influence of Philip, although immediately governed by Awashonks, his kinswoman.

The reservations of the Heathen Indians.

Philip had retired with all the tribe of Wampanoags into the two peninsulas of Mount Hope* and Poppesquash, in the immediate neighborhood of Swansey; these lands being fertile, were devoted to such cultivation as was used in the agriculture of the Indians; for fishing and fowling, this tribe occasionally resorted to the ponds or small lakes with which the colony was interspersed.

The lands of Mount Hope and Poppesquash, and probably Assonet and Shewamit, were held by the Wampanoags. The last were uninhabited. Those of Pocasset and Punkateese by the Pocassets, and those of Saconet by the Saconets. Over these tribes Philip exercised a powerful influence.

* Supposed by some to be a corruption of the Indian word Montaup.

English
settle-
ments on
Cape Cod.

On Cape Cod the English and Indians were more intermixed. The lands of Barnstable, Sandwich, and Yarmouth, had been purchased and settled by the English, but the Indians continued to reside in their vicinity. The town of Eastham had been established in the midst of the Indians of Nauset, and small settlements had been made by the English at Saukatucket, Monamoy, and Pamet.

Christian
Indians on
Cape Cod.

Many of the Indians on this Cape had been converted to Christianity by the exertions and zeal of Richard Bourne, of Sandwich, who had been ordained by all the ministers of the colony pastor of the Indian church at Marshpee. Indian churches had been established at Meshawn, (in Provincetown and Truro,) and Punonakanit, (in Welfleet;) in these two places were seventytwo praying Indians. At Potanumaquet or Nauset, (in Eastham, where there were fortyfour; Monamoyk; (in Chatham, their numbers here were seventyone;) Saukatuckett, (in the west part of Harwich;) Nobsquasset, (in the northeast part of Yarmouth;) Mattakees, (between Barnstable and Plymouth harbors, principally in the northwestern part of Yarmouth;) Wequakut or Cheewacket, (southwest part of the east precinct in Barnstable.) The number of praying Indians belonging to the four last churches was one hundred and twentytwo. Churches were also established at Satuit, Pawpoesit, Wakoquet, and Marshpee, all within the limits of the Indian plantation of Marshpee or Massapee; these churches contained ninetyfive. At Coatuit, (in the southwest part of Barnstable; Codtanmut, Ashimuit and Weesquobs, (all near Marshpee;) Sokones, (in Falmouth,) and Pispogut. The three last churches contained thirtysix members. An Indian church was also established at Kitteaumut, (in a part of Sandwich on Buzzard's Bay. Another had been gathered at Waywayontak, (in Wareham adjoining the Cape.)

Beyond the limits of Cape Cod, the christian religion had made but small progress in the Plymouth jurisdiction. Churches had been gathered at Tettiquet, Namasket, and Assawampsett, (all in Middleborough.) The last contained thirtyfive members.

Indian Churches in Middleborough.

Mr Bourne had applied himself to the instruction of these Indians, both in letters and religion, with patient, persevering, and unwearied assiduity. Many of them could read and write the Indian language, and a few both the English and Indian ; and they all had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the scriptures. Four native preachers assisted Mr Bourne in his pious labors, and in his work of instruction, and he was zealously aided by Mr Cotton, the pastor of Plymouth.

Richard Bourne.

For the use of these Christian Indians, large tracts of land had been reserved.

The Indians at Saconet, (Little Compton,) and Coaxet, (Dartmouth,) had discovered some inclination to be instructed in the gospel, but as yet no converts had been gained amongst them.

At Nope or Capewack, (Martha's Vineyard,) the labors of Thomas Mayhew had been attended with much success. Mayhew had been an eminent merchant at Southampton in England. He was an early settler at Watertown. In 1642, he removed to Martha's (then Martin's) Vineyard, and devoted himself to the instruction of the Indians. In 1659, he gathered a church. The island was inhabited by three hundred Indian families, who, with very few exceptions, embraced the gospel. There were ten Indian preachers, who, Mayhew says, 'were of good knowledge and holy conversation.' Mayhew divided the island into seven jurisdictions, and six meetings were held on every sabbath. There were on this island seven Indian villages, viz. Chippaquiddick, Nashamoiess, and San-

Thomas Mayhew converts the Indians of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket to Christianity.

chekantakit, (in Edgartown) Takame, (in Tisbury,) Nashouohlamuck and Talhanio, (in Chilmark.) Eliot, the Indian apostle, assisted in the ordination of Hiacoomes as pastor, John Tockinosh as teacher, John Nonoso and Joshua Mummeecheeg as ruling elders. A separate church was afterwards gathered at Chippaquiddick.

Two tribes inhabited the eastern and western parts of the island of Nantucket, both containing about three hundred families. These Indians were friendly to Christianity, and amongst them Mayhew had gathered a church, which for the purpose of social worship, alternately assembled at Aggawame, Wammasquid and Squatesk.

These islands at first were independent of all the colonial jurisdictions. They were afterwards annexed to New York by the crown, and eventually to Massachusetts.

English
settle-
ments in
Massa-
chusetts.

The colony of Massachusetts was much less exposed to the dangers and desolations of Indian warfare than Plymouth. Their population was more concentrated, nearly all being included in the towns about Boston and Salem, and all the Indians within the colony had embraced the gospel.

The settlement of Salem had commenced as early as 1628. The settlement of the several towns of Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, Medford, Cambridge, and Roxbury, were almost contemporaneous in 1630. All these towns were contiguous, and their first inhabitants had accompanied Governor Winthrop. Charlestown and Boston were built on two opposite peninsulas at the mouth of Charles river, and immediately above them on the river, were situated the towns of Cambridge and Watertown. Medford was on the Mystic river. Roxbury was immediately beyond the isthmus, by which it was united to Boston; and Dorchester fronting on the har-

bor, lay south of Boston and Roxbury. In 1634, Ipswich, known by the Indian name of Agawam, was incorporated, this had been a place of resort for fishermen previous to the settlement of Plymouth. Weymouth, where a settlement was attempted in 1621, was incorporated as early as 1635, and also the adjoining town of Hingham; both were situated on the outer harbor of Boston. In 1637, Lynn, and in 1644, Nantasket, (settled as early as 1625,) were incorporated, the latter by the name of Hull. These towns lay on the sea, and included the two opposite points or peninsulas of the outer harbor. In 1640, Braintree, known as Mount Wollaston, (where a settlement had been attempted by Capt. Wollaston,) was incorporated:—this town comprised the territory which lay on the harbor between Dorchester and Weymouth. In 1649, Malden, comprising the territory between Medford and Lynn, was incorporated. Chelsea, the Indian Winnisimit, had received settlers very early.

In the year 1649, the peninsula on the south side of Salem harbor was incorporated, and the new town received the name of Marblehead. Cape Anne, which had been frequented by fishermen and Indian traders from a very early period, was incorporated by the name of Gloucester in 1639. Between Salem and Cape Anne, on the coast, Manchester was incorporated in 1645, and Beverly in 1668. Ipswich lay north of Cape Anne, and between Ipswich and Newbury the town of Rowley was incorporated in 1639. The south bank of the river Merrimack was covered with strong settlements, viz. Newbury at its mouth, incorporated in 1637, Bradford in 1675, Andover in 1646, Chelmsford in 1655, and Dunstable in 1663. On the north side of that river, Salisbury at its mouth, had been incorporated in 1640, Amesbury in 1668, and Haverhill in 1645. Haverhill was a frontier town, and no English settlement intervened between that and Canada.

Between Salem and the Merrimack river, the territory west of the settlements on the coast, had been incorporated into two towns, viz. Wenham in 1643, and Topsfield in 1650. The whole of the present county of Essex was covered with these settlements. Woburn, north of Medford, was incorporated in 1642, and Reading, on the north of Malden, in 1644. Concord was incorporated in 1635, Sudbury in 1639, and Billerica in 1655. West of Dorchester, Dedham had been incorporated (in 1636,) and south, (on the Neponset,) Milton (in 1662.)

Within the space bounded on the north by the Merrimack, west by the Concord, and south by the Neponset, the settlements were compact, the country cleared, and the population comparatively numerous and wealthy. On the coast there was an unbroken line of English settlements from Barnstable to Portsmouth.

Settlements had been extended farther into the wilderness. Medfield, eighteen miles from Boston, was incorporated in 1651, and Sherburne, just above the Indian town of Natick in 1674, Marlborough (surrounded with Indians,) in 1660, and a feeble settlement at Wrentham in 1673. On the Nashua river, Lancaster, containing about fifty English families was incorporated in 1653, and Groton in 1655.

In extending their progress further westward, the people of Massachusetts passed over the rough hills of the present county of Worcester, and made their earliest settlements on the great Connecticut river, on the east side of which they had established the towns of Springfield, Hadley, and Northfield, and on the west Westfield, Northampton, Hatfield, and Deerfield. All these settlements, with the exception of Springfield, had been recently commenced, and contained but a small population. The whole county of Berkshire was then a wilderness, inhabited

neither by English nor Indians; Westfield, (the Indian Waranoke,) where a trading-house had been erected as early as 1644, by the people of Connecticut, was the only settlement in the interior between the rivers Connecticut and Hudson, and that was but a few miles from the Connecticut river.

Mendon, near Wrentham, yet a feeble settlement, was incorporated in 1667, and at Quoboag, (afterwards Brookfield,) a settlement had been commenced by twenty English families which had not been incorporated, and was as yet in the midst of the wilderness.

The distant settlements on the Connecticut river, and the insulated and feeble ones in the present county of Worcester, on the occurrence of an Indian war, were exposed to certain destruction.

In the Massachusetts jurisdiction several Indian churches had been established by the indefatigable exertions of the Apostle Eliot. The first was at Natick about eighteen miles from Boston, where he had obtained a grant of six thousand acres of land; and acting as lawgiver as well as priest, he instituted a government on the Jewish model, similar to the one proposed by Jethro to Moses for the government of the Israelites in the wilderness. Rulers of a hundred, of fifties, and of tens; these Indians entered into a solemn covenant. This town was regularly laid out in streets with houses on each side. A fort was erected, and a house was built after the English fashion; the lower room of which, served as a place of worship. The number of souls at Natick was about one hundred and fifty.

Christian
Indians in
Massa-
chusetts.

Another church had been established at Pakemit or Punkapog,* fourteen miles from Boston, to which six thousand acres of land had also been granted. A part of the Ne-

* Stoughton.

ponisit Indians had removed to this place. The number of souls was about sixty, in twelve families.

Hassanamesett, or Hassanamises, * was the third town of praying Indians, and was situated about thirtyeight miles from Boston, and contained twelve families and sixty souls. This town was laid out four miles square, and contained eight thousand acres.

Okommakesit † was situated about thirty miles from Boston, and contained ten families and about fifty souls, their grant included about six thousand acres of land, and was located in the vicinity of an English town called Marlborough; but these Indians viewed their English neighbors with dislike.

Wamesit, or Pawtucket, ‡ was situated upon the river Merrimack, about twenty miles from Boston, and contained fifteen families, and seventyfive souls. The Indian lands comprised two thousand five hundred acres. Within this village on the Merrimack there was a fishery, which in its season was frequented by Indians from a vast distance. This village had been despoiled by the Mohawks.

Nashobah § was a village of praying Indians, distant twentyfive miles from Boston, and it contained ten families and fifty souls. It was four miles square. This settlement also suffered during the Mohawk war, and at one time was deserted by its inhabitants, but after the termination of that war it was repeopled.

Magunkaquog, or Magunkook, || about twentyfive miles from Boston, contained eleven families or fiftyfive souls. Three thousand acres were granted to them.

These were the seven old villages or towns of the praying Indians in Massachusetts, where the English had

* Grafton, in the Nipmuck country, now in the county of Worcester.

† In Marlborough in the county of Middlesex. ‡ In Tewksbury in the same county. § In Littleton same county. || In Hopkinton same county.

established in some degree, their form of government both ecclesiastical and civil. These Indians had pastors, ruling elders, and deacons, and generally schoolmasters of their own race, and also rulers and constables. The rulers generally decided their disputes, and the constables were their executive officers. They were seated on some of the best lands in the colony, with every advantage both for hunting and fishing. They were, however, sensible of their inferiority to their white neighbors, and adhered to them more from fear, than from affection.

Eliot and other devout persons in Massachusetts, had extended their labors into the Nipmuck country, and had succeeded partially in seven villages, but as this good work had been commenced but three or four years previous to the breaking out of the general war, the connexion between the two races had not become intimate; nor had the religious faith of the Nipmucks acquired sufficient consistency or strength, to enable them to withstand the strongest feelings of their natures.

The seven villages of praying Indians in the Nipmuck country, were Manchage,* Chabanakongkomen,† Maanex-it,‡ Quantisset,§ Wabquisset,|| Packachoog,¶ Waentug.**

* In Oxford, fiftyfive miles from Boston, 12 families, containing 60 souls.

† In Dudley 55 miles from Boston, 9 families, containing 45 souls. This village received its name from a large pond or lake.

‡ In the northeast part of Woodstock, 60 miles from Boston, 20 families, containing 100 souls.

§ In the southeast part of Woodstock, with a numerical population about the same.

|| In the southwest part of Woodstock, 72 miles from Boston, 30 families, containing 150 souls.

¶ On a high hill, partly in Worcester, and partly in Ward, 44 miles from Boston, 20 families, containing 100 souls.

** In the neighborhood of Mendon, but within the limits of the present town of Uxbridge; this village contained 50 souls.

The Nash-
uas and
Quaboags.

To these Indians no grants of land had been made. At Weeshakim or Nashua, in the neighborhood of Lancaster, there once had been a powerful Indian tribe called Nashuas, but this tribe had been nearly exterminated by the Mohawks.

At Quaboag* there was another tribe. Both these tribes had discovered some disposition to receive the gospel, but no churches had been gathered amongst them, and the English customs and regulations had not been adopted.

All these villages were within the limits of the present county of Worcester.†

The chief
sachem of
the Nip-
mucks.

Amongst the Nipmucks there was a chief sachem or ruler, who dwelt at Hassanamesit; he was called Wattusacompanum — a grave and pious christian; but his power was feeble, and his influence arose more from a sense of his good qualities, than from any fear of his authority.

Feeble-
ness of
the In-
dians in
Massa-
chusetts.

Fortunately for the colony of Massachusetts, within its limits the Indians were few in number and feeble in strength. Sixty years anterior to this period, they had been nearly exterminated by the pestilence; the few who remained were scattered about the colony, distant from each other, and had not learned the good policy of union.

The Mohawks, a bold, ferocious, warlike tribe, who dwelt on the Mohawk river, were their deadly enemies, and by continual incursions had made themselves dreaded by all these feeble and scattered tribes; their settlements were attacked and despoiled; their warriors killed, and their women and children captured. Most of the tribes who had once been seated near the sea, had been driven back in consequence of their exposure to the ravages and

* Now Brookfield.

† Woodstock many years after was annexed to Connecticut.

ferocious warfare of distant Indians from the east, once known by the general name of Tarrateens.

The English settlements in Connecticut were almost confined to the river and Long Island Sound. Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, Farmington, Middletown, Waterbury, Machemoodus, or Haddam, Saybrook, and Lyme, were situated on either side of the river, from its mouth to the line of Massachusetts. New London, incorporated in 1648, Stonington in 1674, and Norwich in 1660, had been conquered from the Pequots. Between Saybrook and New Haven, on the Sound, were the towns of Killingsworth, Guilford, and Branford. New Haven had been settled early, and was a populous town. Beyond New Haven, on the Sound, were situated the several towns of Milford, Stratford, and Fairfield, all settled in 1639, and Stamford, Norwalk, and Greenwich, which completed the line of settlements on the Sound from New Haven to the line of the Dutch province of New Netherlands. The towns of Simsbury, west of Windsor, and Wallingford, north of New Haven, were incorporated in 1670; in 1675 twelve families had settled at Paugasset, north of Milford, and had been incorporated into a town by the name of Derby in 1674; and in the same year Pomeraug was incorporated by the name of Woodbury. This last was the only insulated settlement in the colony. Simsbury, Wallingford, and Derby, were not properly interior towns, as they were contiguous to the settlements on the Sound and the river.

English settlements in Connecticut.

On the territory west of the settlements on the river, and north of those on the Sound, there were neither English nor Indians.

The only tribe of Indians remaining on the territory of this colony were the Moheagans, who were seated on the lands east of the settlements on the river, and north of

The Moheagans.

Lyne, New London, Stonington, and Norwich. This tribe was still governed by Uncas, and amongst them the remains of the Pequots were incorporated; they remained steady in their fidelity to the English.

Narragansett country.

Connecticut, however, claimed the jurisdiction of the Narragansett country, in which a settlement had been made at Wickford; and there were scattered plantations of English throughout the Indian territory.

Narragansetts.

The Narragansetts, still a strong and powerful tribe, were seated on the lands now comprised within the limits of the county of Washington in Rhode Island, and the small English settlements in that country were much exposed, and were almost certain of being destroyed, should the Narragansetts resort to arms.

Connecticut, however, was peculiarly fortunate in having no enemies on their rear, and also in the alliance of the Moheagans, their nearest Indian neighbors.

Rhode Island.

The colony of Rhode Island can scarcely be said to have been a party in this war. Excluded from the confederacy of the New England colonies, it was their unhappy fortune to share the disasters which they could neither prevent nor contend with. The Island, indeed, on which the towns of Portsmouth and Newport had been established, protected by its waters, was the common asylum of the fugitives from the desolated settlements in their neighborhood, and, like the land of Goshen, remained peaceful and tranquil, while the contiguous settlements were undergoing all the horrors of barbarian war. Far different was the situation of the Providence plantations, consisting of Providence, Patuxet, and Warwick, whose local position was such, that notwithstanding their inclination and their endeavors to avoid war, they were not even permitted to hope to escape the earthquake shock of the hostile elements, whenever they should be put in

motion; the enemies of the English surrounded them on all sides, and they were excluded from the common protection.

The zealous efforts which had been made to give the Indians a knowledge of letters, were attended with but little success. Sausaman, it was said, was at the college at Cambridge. The pious lamented with much grief the premature death of an Indian youth who was called Joel, and who had made much proficiency in learning and religion. Having made a visit to his friends at Martha's Vineyard, of which island he was a native, a short time previous to the commencement at Cambridge, on his return to Boston, he was shipwrecked on Nantucket, and murdered there by some of the Indians of the island. The only Indian who received the college honors at Cambridge, was Caleb Cheesheautumuck, in 1665. He did not profit much by his education, and died early. Whether it is the design of Providence that the native Indians should become civilized, is a question yet to be determined. It is certain that hitherto all efforts (and great efforts have been made) have been unavailing. After an educated Indian returns to his countrymen, he renounces the usages of civilized society, and resumes the customs of his fathers.

Ill success of the English in their attempt to educate the Indians.

The Indian converts to Christianity had been gained from the smaller tribes, who possessed but little wealth and power; and the consciousness of their inferiority might have induced them to turn to the God of the English, whom all the Indians believed to be a God 'mighty to save.'

Massasoiet, devoted as he had been to the English, obstinately rejected their religion, and his example doubtless had a powerful influence over the minds of his sons and successors, who were determined to walk in the ways of their fathers. When the venerable Eliot undertook to convert Philip, the savage, taking him by the button, told

Heathen Indians.

him he cared no more for the gospel than he did for that button. Uncas, the sachem of the Moheagans, was no less pertinacious in his adhesion to the ancient religion of his tribe, and complained with much bitterness of the establishment of the Indian churches in Woodstock, which he claimed as being within his own domain; and in consequence of his aversion, the gospel had made but little progress amongst the Indians in the Province of Connecticut.

The Narragansetts, on this subject, were equally unyielding, and although they loved and respected Roger Williams, his efforts to introduce the gospel amongst them were unsuccessful, and the sachems at length positively forbade christian preaching within their domains.

Christianity was confined to the small tribes on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, the feeble people around Boston, and the scattered hordes of the Nipmucks.

Nevertheless, a similarity of faith with the Indians who professed the christian religion, gave the English a decided advantage over Philip in the subsequent contest, with the exception of the Nipmucks; (amongst whom Christianity had shed but a doubtful and glimmering light;) the others adhered to them with zeal and fidelity, and rendered important services.

Had the people of Plymouth been exposed to the hostility of the Indians of Cape Cod or of Massachusetts, their situation would have been perilous indeed, but in the day of danger, their zeal in the cause of Christianity found its reward, as the hearts of savages had received the softening influences of the gospel, which bound them to the English by the strong tie of a common faith.

Situation
of the En-
glish and
Indians.

The English and the Indians were so intermixed that they all had personal knowledge of each other. The hospitalities of each race were constantly and cordially re-

ciprocated. Although their dwellings were apart, yet they were near, and the roving habits of the Indians, and frequent visits had familiarised them as much with the houses of the English as with their own wigwams. They knew the habits, the temper, the outgoings, the incomings, the power of defence, and even the domiciliary usages of every family in the colony. They were minutely acquainted with every river, brook, creek, bay, harbor, lake, and pond, and with every local peculiarity of the country. They had their friends and their enemies amongst the English; for some they professed a fond attachment; others they disliked and avoided. In short, they seemed as much identified with the English as Greeks with Turks. Suspicion was lulled to sleep, and no more apprehensions were entertained of Indian hostility than of a civil war.

Philip had succeeded his brother Alexander, in the year 1662, and in the same year went to Plymouth for the purpose of renewing the ancient league which had been made between the English and his father. On this occasion he was attended by John Sausaman, a Natick Indian, (who had been educated by Eliot,) who wrote and spoke the English language, and who was at once his secretary, interpreter, and counsellor.

Philip renews the treaty made by his Father with Plymouth.

Philip in his peregrinations about the colony, had become well acquainted with the inhabitants; he bought, sold, and exchanged hospitalities with them. Being a person of great cunning and subtlety, he had so far ingratiated himself into their favor, that they manifested their friendliness by repairing his arms, selling him ammunition, and by frequently partaking of his sports and amusements. But during all this time, the insult offered to Alexander rankled in his heart, and he was intent on revenge; the most trifling injury, even if it was unintentional, drew from him threats of hostility and retaliation.

His hostility to Plymouth.

In 1671, he came almost to an open rupture with Plymouth on account of some injury, which he alleged to have been done to his planting ground. He had been suspected by the English of harboring hostile feelings, from indications too strong to be mistaken. The Indians frequently assembled together; their guns were repaired; their hatchets sharpened, and their language was insulting.

The government of Plymouth becoming alarmed, despatched messengers both to Philip, and to Boston, the first with a view to ascertain his intentions, and the last to communicate to the government of Massachusetts their suspicions and their fears.

Massachusetts
sends
commissioners to
avert a
rupture.

Massachusetts anxious to avert hostilities, and to prevent an open rupture, (as the government of Plymouth had resolved to make war if the Indians still continued to manifest such signs of hostility,) despatched William Davis, William Hudson, and Thomas Brattle, to mediate between the contending parties; they arrived at Taunton on the 13th of April, (1671) where they met Mr Prince, the governor of Plymouth, Josias Winslow, (afterwards governor) and Constant Southworth. While engaged in conversation, a message was received from Philip, who was then at Three Mile river,* inviting the governor of Plymouth to a conference.

The governor despatched Mr Williams and some others with a message to Philip, assuring him of his disposition to treat, and his expectation that he would come to him, his safety being guaranteed. Philip was willing to proceed to Taunton Green, (then called the Training field,) if hostages were left, and Williams and James Brown consented to remain. Philip then proceeded as far as the mill,† and

* About four miles from Taunton Green.

† Crossman's mill where the gristmill now stands.

having placed sentinels on a hill in his rear* he again despatched messengers to the governor desiring an interview. Some of the town's people who were anxious to attack Philip forthwith were restrained by the solicitations of the commissioners of Massachusetts; but it was the general determination that Governor Prince should not go to Philip's quarters. At last the Massachusetts commissioners went out to persuade Philip to come into the town: at first, his counsellors were unwilling, but Philip finally consented, on condition that he should be accompanied by his men, and that the conference should be at the meeting house, one side of which should be occupied by his people, and the other by the English.

Here they conferred, and the old meeting house in Taunton exhibited a scene alike singular and interesting. On one side were arrayed the austere puritan English with formal garbs, close shorn hair, and solemn countenances, looking hostility and defiance, yet with a shade of submissive devotion, which showed that they were willing to put their trust in the God of battles.

Conference between them and the Indians at Taunton

On the other side appeared the tawny and ferocious countenances of the Indian warriors; their long black hair hanging down their backs; their small and sunken eyes gleaming with serpent fires; their persons covered with belts of wampum, and fantastic ornaments, exhibiting a combination of every gaudy color.

The sober and silent demeanor of the English, and the strange and wild deportment of the Indians, presented a contrast the more remarkable, inasmuch as they had lived together for fifty years.

Philip denied that he entertained any hostile design against the English, but when questioned as to his unusual

* Crossman's Hill.

preparations for war, he endeavoured to represent them as intended for defence against the Narragansetts.

The commissioners, who were fully instructed as to the state of Philip's relations with the Narragansetts, demonstrated that he was on better terms with them than he ever had been ; and evidence sufficient having been produced that he had procured great and unusual supplies both of ammunition and provisions, and that he had planned an attack upon Taunton, Seekonk, and other places, he was covered with confusion, and in his panic, acknowledged the truth of all the charges.

Philip
signs a
submis-
sion.

The commissioners then required him to make satisfaction for former, and to give an indemnity against future injuries ;—the claim of satisfaction for previous injuries was abandoned, but it was insisted that his arms should be yielded ; and so greatly was Philip intimidated, that he consented not only to yield his arms, but to sign the following submission.

‘ TAUNTON, 12th of April, 1671.

‘ Whereas, my father, my brother, and myself, have formerly submitted ourselves and our people unto the king's majesty of England, and to this colony of New Plymouth, by solemn covenant under our hand ; but I having of late, through my indiscretion, and the naughtiness of my heart, violated and broken this my covenant with my friends, by taking up arms with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly ; I being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, do desire at this time solemnly to renew my covenant with my ancient friends, and my father's friends abovementioned, and do desire that this may testify to the world against me, if ever I shall again fail in my faithfulness towards them, (whom I have now and at all times found kind to me,) or any other of the English

colonies; and as a real pledge of my true intentions, for the future to be faithful and friendly, I do freely engage to resign up to the government of New Plymouth all my English arms, to be kept by them for their security, so long as they shall see reason. For the true performance of the premises, I have hereunto set my hand, together with the rest of my council.

In presence of	The marks of
WILLIAM DAVIS,	PHILIP, Chief Sachem of Pokanoket,
WILLIAM HUDSON,	TAVOSER,
THOMAS BRATTLE,	Captain WISPOKE,
	WOONKAPONCPUNT,
	NIMROD.

Hubbard says that one of Philip's captains was so much enraged at his timidity, that he threw down his arms and renounced his service forever, and immediately attached himself to the English, whom he served with fidelity during the whole of the subsequent war.

Notwithstanding this written submission, into which Philip had evidently been frightened, as soon as he was out of the presence of the English, he seemed to forget all his stipulations, neglected to deliver his arms, and upon a summons for a non-performance of his agreement, refused to appear at Plymouth. Many warriors from the neighboring tribes resorted to him, and he seemed to be acquiring great influence amongst them. Mr Morton, the secretary of the Plymouth government, informed the governor of Massachusetts that Philip had been summoned to appear at Plymouth, and that if he did not appear within a week from the thirteenth of September, the day which had been appointed for his appearance, unless the government of Massachusetts should offer them satisfactory reasons, recourse would be had to force to compel Philip to comply with his engagements; that it was a

Plymouth
still sus-
picious of
Philip.

common cause ; that Massachusetts ought to assist them, but if she would not, the government of Plymouth were determined to provide if necessary, for the safety of their own colony unaided.

Massachusetts
partial to
Philip.

It so happened that Philip and some of his counsellors arrived at Boston on the same day with Mr Morton's letter, and he had sufficient plausibility and art to persuade the government of Massachusetts that he entertained no hostile designs against Plymouth, and they were induced in consequence of his representations, to propose a reference of all disputes to Commissioners, to be appointed by them and by the government of Connecticut.

Plymouth refused to accede to this proposition ; and the government of Massachusetts immediately declared that there was not sufficient cause to justify Plymouth in making war upon Philip. Staggered by this declaration, Plymouth consented to give Philip another week to make terms, assured him of safe conduct, and desired that commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut should be present at the conference. During this visit Philip promised the government of Massachusetts that he would not quarrel with the Indians, without submitting the causes of the quarrel to them for their advice and approbation. This circumstance indicated a disposition on the part of the sachem to submit to Massachusetts.

Some trifling jealousy might possibly have existed at this time on the part of Plymouth against Massachusetts. The latter government, although of late years generally just and equitable, and even generous in their transactions with the neighboring colonies, were nevertheless possessed of a domineering spirit, which sometimes induced them to proffer advice too much in the shape of a command ; to undertake to adjust disputes without the consent of the contending parties, and to determine what

was right and proper, without being constituted judges. Philip succeeded in persuading them, notwithstanding the treaty and league originally made with his father, and renewed by his brother and himself, that he was not a subject of the Plymouth colony; that their successive engagements were only 'agreements of amity, and not for subjection any further, as he apprehended.' He desired to see a copy of the agreement, and requested the governor of Massachusetts to procure one for him. He said further, that although friendly relations existed between his predecessors and himself with the Plymouth government, 'that he knew not that his people were subjects; that the praying Indians were subject to Massachusetts, and had officers and magistrates appointed; they had no such thing with them, and therefore were not subject.' Massachusetts, conciliated perhaps by this acknowledgment of Philip, that the praying Indians were their subjects; — (for the dominion of Massasoiet had been partially acknowledged by them, and the Nipmucks particularly had been in a state of qualified dependence upon him and his successors;) — under the influence of the favorable feelings produced by this acknowledgment, wrote to Plymouth, rather in a style of reprehension.

'We do not, (say they,) understand how far he hath subjected himself to you; but the treatment you have given him, and proceedings towards him, do not render him such a subject, as that, if there be not be present answering to summons, there should presently be a proceeding to hostilities, and the sword once drawn, and dipped in blood, may make him as independent upon you, as you are upon him.'

The mediators, however, met at Plymouth, where Philip appeared; and an accommodation was effected. He and his councillors subscribed the following articles.

Accommodation
between
Plymouth
and
Philip.

‘ 1. We, Philip, and my council, and my subjects, do acknowledge ourselves subject to his majesty the king of England, and the government of New Plymouth, and to their laws.

‘ 2. I am willing, and do promise to pay unto the government of Plymouth, one hundred pounds in such things as I have ; but I would entreat the favor that I might have three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at present.

‘ 3. I do promise to send unto the governor or whom he shall appoint, five wolves’ heads, if I can get them ; or as many as I can procure, until they come to five wolves yearly.

‘ 4. If any difference fall between the English and myself, and people, then I do promise to repair to the governor of Plymouth to rectify the difference amongst us.

‘ 5. I do promise not to make war with any, but with the governor’s approbation, of Plymouth.

‘ 6. I do promise not to dispose of any of the lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the governor of Plymouth.’

‘ For the true performance of the premises, I, the said Philip, sachem of Pawkamaukut, do hereby bind myself, and such of my council as are present, ourselves, our heirs, our successors, faithfully. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our hands the day and year abovewritten.’

In presence of the court, and divers of gntlemen of the Massachusetts and Connecticut.’

PHILIP, the Sachem of Paukamaukut
UNCOMPAEN,
WOCOKOM,
SAMKANA ’

Philip’s
plot to
destroy
the Eng-
lish.

After this pacification, nothing occurred for three years, to rouse the suspicions of the colonies ; but during that time, Philip had the enterprise to undertake, and the ad-

dress to mature, one of the grandest plans that was ever conceived by a savage ; for the purpose of exterminating the English, it proposed a general union amongst the Indians of New England ;—of this confederacy he was to be the chief. Though the sachem of a petty tribe, he raised himself to a prouder eminence than was ever attained by any of the aboriginal race in North America ;—from the Hudson to the Penobscot his subtle influence was felt ;—by his consummate knowledge of the arts of savage policy, the quarrels of centuries were reconciled :—he overcame the almost implacable enmity of the Narragansetts, who had witnessed the destruction of the Pequots, not only without inquietude, but with triumph ;—the Nipmucks swerved from their fidelity, notwithstanding the strong tie of a common faith. Of this wide spreading plot, not a whisper transpired ; while the English were deluded and lulled into security by repeated professions of friendship, Philip was strengthening and increasing his connexions and alliances, and preparing, silently and secretly, to destroy their dominion, and expel them from the country.

The Narragansetts had engaged to join Philip with their whole strength, which amounted to an effective force of four thousand warriors. The spring of 1676 was the period fixed for commencing this great undertaking, and nothing but one of those accidents which sometimes occur to derange the best digested plans, could have prevented the impending ruin of the English, but the plot was prematurely developed, and Philip was forced to commence the war before he was prepared, and under many disadvantages.

Narragansetts
disposed to
join him.

Sausaman, his secretary, by committing some offence, had incurred his displeasure ; fearful of the consequences he escaped from Mount Hope. By the solicitations of

Sausaman
displeases
Philip and
escapes
from
Mount
Hope.

his friend and instructor, the venerable Eliot, he was induced to return to the bosom of the christian church, from which, during his sojourn with Philip, he had apostatised. After many professions of repentance, he was again baptised and received into full communion; he took up his residence at Natick, and being well educated, having formerly been at the college, and having a thorough knowledge of the English language, and being more like an Englishman in his deportment and manners than any other Indian, he was well received by the Naticks, who were accustomed to English preaching, and amongst whom he was formerly held in much estimation as a school-master.

Communi-
cates
his appre-
hensions
of Philip's
designs to
Governor
Winslow.

Sausaman was shrewd and plausible; during his residence with Philip he had gained his confidence to such a degree, that the sachem entrusted him with all his plans, and admitted him to his most secret councils. While a resident at Natick, having occasion to visit Namasket,* near Philip's country, he fell in with many of the Wampanaogs, and frequently with Philip himself. Being a close and attentive observer, he soon penetrated his designs, and ascertained to his own conviction, that they were of the most dangerous and desperate character. Sausaman, now entirely devoted to the English, secretly communicated his apprehensions to the governor of Plymouth, at the same time expressing his fears of his own life, should it ever come to the knowledge of Philip that he had given any information on the subject. Many other circumstances corroborated the truth of Sausaman's story. Philip and several of his Indians were examined, but as no evidence could be produced against them, and as they would disclose nothing themselves, they were dismissed, not, however, without strong suspicions.

* In Middleborough.

Shortly after, Sausaman disappeared; his friends becoming alarmed, commenced a search, and finding his hat and gun upon the ice of the great Assawampset Pond,* they were induced to continue the search, and soon found his dead body under the ice. David, a Tetticut Indian, who was a friend of Sausaman, discovering some bruises about his head, was induced to believe that he came to his death by violence. He was, however, buried by his friends without a further investigation of the circumstances of his death.

Murder of
Sausa-
man.

David having informed some Englishmen at Taunton of the appearances on Sausaman's body, they communicated his information to the governor, who, recollecting his conversation with Sausaman, and suspecting some foul proceedings, issued a warrant to authorize the removal of the body from the grave, for the purpose of a careful examination; it was accordingly exhumed, and after a critical inspection, it appeared that Sausaman had received injuries sufficient to have produced death without drowning.†

Some other circumstances came to light which completely established the fact of his murder. An Indian acknowledged that while standing on a hill near the pond, he saw the deed committed, but fearful of his own life, he was unwilling to disclose it. This information came to the ears of the governor, who, causing the Indian to be summoned before him, heard the story from his own mouth. The murderers now being known, were apprehended, and conveyed to Plymouth. Upon the trial of the accused early in June, 1675, the story of the Indian was confirmed by other circumstances, and they were all convicted and executed. Two of them denied the truth of the accusa-

* In Middleborough.

† Cotton Mather says the neck was broken.

tion to the last moment;—one confessed that his own father, [one of the two by whom the deed was done, and a counsellor and particular friend of Philip,] was mainly instrumental in the murder, but denied his own participation.

Philip neither appeared at the court, nor made any effort to exculpate himself, but kept his men constantly armed, marching them from place to place, and receiving all the strange Indians who thronged to his quarters.

The government of Plymouth took no other step than to pass an order making it penal to lend arms to the Indians, and directing a military watch to be established in the towns adjacent to Philip's territory, vainly hoping that he would become quiet, and remit his preparations, on finding that he was not to be called to an account for this murder.

The government of Plymouth send a friendly letter to Philip.

On the 14th day of June, at the urgent solicitation of Mr Brown of Swansey, who was very anxious to prevent hostilities, the government despatched a letter to Philip, filled with friendly professions, disclaiming all hostile feelings, or injurious intentions, but complaining of his conduct, and advising him to dismiss the strange Indians, and to give no heed to sinister reports. This timid policy only emboldened Philip to anticipate the execution of his grand project. He answered the letter with threats, and persisted in his insolent and irritating conduct.

Mr Church communicates to Gov. Winslow information of Philip's hostile dispositions.

The suspicions of the government were now strengthened into conviction from the information of Mr Church. This gentleman, a native of Duxbury, removed from that place in 1674, and settled at Saconet, in the midst of the Indians. He had been uncommonly successful in conciliating their good will, and had acquired much influence with their squaw sachem or queen, Awashonks, and her counsellors. Church soon ascertained that the rumors of the hostile



COL. BENJAMIN CHURCH.

intentions of Philip were true. Philip despatched six of his men to Awashonks to secure her alliance. She so far listened to the representations of Philip's missionaries as to make a great dance, which, amongst these people generally, is a prelude to a treaty; to this dance all her people were summoned; but she prudently despatched two of them, George and Sassamon, with an invitation to Church to attend the dance, to which he went, accompanied by a young Englishman who understood the Indian language. He found Awashonks with several hundreds of her people; she was leading the dance and streaming with perspiration. When Church arrived she left the dance, and gathering her counsellors invited him to a conference; she then informed him that two of her people had been to Mount Hope, and had returned accompanied by Philip's ambassadors, who had invited her to be a party in a general confederacy to make war on the English, who were represented by Philip as having embodied a large army to make war on him, and she requested Church to advise her as to her own conduct.—Church replied that he had recently visited Plymouth, and that there was not the slightest apprehension of a war; that he had seen and conversed with the principal men in the government, and they had not even mentioned the subject.

He asked if she could believe that the English contemplated hostilities, when he himself had settled amongst the Indians, and had brought all his property with him.

She listened to his discourse, and expressed her conviction of its truth.—She then summoned the Mount Hopes or Wampanoags. They appeared painted, trimmed, and equipped as though they expected immediate war;—she then communicated to them her conversation with Church, and informed Church in their presence of the purport of

Philip's message, which was, that he would secretly cause the cattle of the English on that side of the water to be killed, and their houses to be burned, and that the English suspecting her as the author of the mischief, would seek revenge.

Church, after expressing his regret at this unpleasant state of affairs, made some inquiries of the Mount Hopes, to which he received scornful answers. In the irritation of the moment he unjustifiably advised Awashonks, that inasmuch as Philip was determined on war, to put his messengers to death, and then to throw herself on the protection of the English. This advice threw those Saconet Indians who had been at Mount Hope into a violent rage, and Little Eyes, one of the queen's council, urged Church to go apart with him, which, the other Indians (fearful of the malicious purpose of his invitation) prevented. Church finding the dissensions amongst the Saconet Indians to grow more violent, assumed a resolute demeanor, and told the Mount Hopes 'that they were bloody wretches who thirsted after the blood of their English neighbors, who had never injured them, but had always abounded in their kindness to them; that for his own part, though he desired peace, yet, if nothing but war would satisfy them, he believed he should prove a thorn in their sides.' He then requested the others to bear it in memory that 'Providence would not suffer men of such bloody dispositions to live to see the event, which the peaceable might do.' He again entreated Awashonks 'not to desert the English interest, and join her neighbors in a rebellion which would certainly prove fatal to her, but to send a messenger to the governor of Plymouth, to inform him of her peaceable disposition, and of her desire to place herself under his protection, and offered his services for that

purpose.' The queen was grateful for the advice, and consented to the proposal, and sent two of her men to guard him home. These men urged Church to secure his goods; he refused, but requested the Indians in the event of a war, to conceal them in a certain spot in the woods, which he designated, and they were subsequently faithful to their trust. Still anxious to keep Awashonks steady in her peaceable dispositions, he directed the guard to inform her, 'that if she continued steady in her dependence on the English, and kept within her own limits at Saconet, he would see her again quickly.' Church set out on his journey to Plymouth. At Pocasset,* he met Peter Nunnuit the husband of Weetamore, the queen of that country, who had just returned from Mount Hope. Peter informed Church that Philip was certainly bent on war, that he had held a dance for several weeks; 'and had entertained the young men from all parts of the country,' and that he was apprehensive of being called to an account for the murder of Sausaman: he also informed him that Mr James Brown of Swansey, and Samuel Gorton had gone to Mount Hope during the dance. Brown went with the letter already mentioned, and took Gorton for an interpreter; the young men were anxious to kill Brown, but Philip prevented them, because 'his father had charged him to shew kindness to Mr Brown.' Peter further said, that the young men were so anxious for war, 'that Philip had been forced to promise them that on the next Lord's day, when the English were gone to meeting, they should rifle their houses, and from that time forward kill their cattle.'

Church, at the request of Peter, had an interview with the queen. Most of her people having gone to Mount Hope, he found her but poorly attended, and very fearful

* In Tiverton.

of war. He advised her to pass over to Rhode Island for security, and to send a messenger to Plymouth immediately. He then left her and pursued his journey so expeditiously, that he reached Plymouth early on the next morning, and communicated all his information to the governor.

Gov.
Winslow
orders a
force to
march to
Mount
Hope.

Governor Winslow was now convinced that war was unavoidable ; he immediately ordered the whole force in the vicinity to march towards Mount Hope ; and despatched messengers to the governor of Massachusetts with information of these hostile indications, and solicited immediate assistance.

Philip
sends his
women
and chil-
dren to
the Nar-
ragansetts
and com-
mences
the war,
by killing
the cattle
and plun-
dering the
houses of
the Swan-
sey peo-
ple.

An En-
glishman
fires on an
Indian.

[Philip finding that his strength was constantly increasing, by the daily accession of Indians from abroad, resolved upon immediate hostilities ; and after sending all the women and children of his tribe to the Narragansetts, where they were succored and protected, he attempted to provoke the English in the neighboring town of Swansey to commence an attack by killing their cattle, and plundering their houses. So insolent was the deportment and language of his followers, that an Englishman under the impulse of sudden anger, fired on an Indian, and wounded him. This was the signal for open hostilities, and the act was instantly retaliated.

The breaking out of the war prevented Church from returning to Saconet, and unfortunately the good and kind hearted Awashonks became so far involved in Philip's plots that she could not extricate herself, which would not have happened, had the resolute and undaunted Church been at hand, to have sustained her in her wise resolution to avoid the controversy.

Bridge-
water
horse
proceed
to Swan-
sey.

From Swansey a messenger was instantly despatched to the Governor of Plymouth to solicit assistance. The Governor directed him to return through Bridgewater, and to

bear an order that twenty horsemen, well armed, should be raised in that town, and should instantly proceed to Swansey. The order was obeyed. The Bridgewater company reached Swansey on the twentyfirst of June, and were ordered by Capt. Bradford to proceed to Metapoiset, which was within the township of Swansey and near Mount Hope, but twelve miles distant. The design was to strengthen the garrison at the house of one Bourne, where seventy persons were collected, sixteen only of whom were men, the remainder women and children. On their march they were met by a number of people who had abandoned their houses, and were flying from the enemy filled with terror, 'wringing their hands and bewailing their losses.' They urged the Bridgewater force to return, and magnified the danger of advancing, but these brave men proceeded and reached Metapoiset in safety. A son of Mr Brown the assistant, went with them as a guide. On the next day, a small party who had been sent out to guard him home, on their return fell in with a party of thirty Indians. As their orders were positive to act only on the defensive, they quietly passed them, and reached the garrison. A party had been sent out from the garrison with carts to bring in a quantity of corn from a deserted house; the guard who had accompanied Mr Brown, meeting with these carts, informed the drivers that the Indians were out, and advised them not to proceed; but heedless of the advice they went on, and were surprised and attacked. Six were killed or mortally wounded. One Jones escaped with a mortal wound, and barely reached his friends to die in their arms. The noise of the firing was heard at the garrison, but before the soldiers could reach the place, the affair was over. On the next week, fifteen of the soldiers were ambushed by twenty Indians, but they escaped without loss. They remained at the garrison until they were

Six Englishmen
killed at
Swansey.

reinforced, and then the house was abandoned, and its inmates transported in safety to Rhode Island. The gathering storm had now burst upon the devoted town of Swansey. The first English blood was shed at Metapoiset.

Attack on
the Swan-
sey peo-
ple when
returning
from
public
worship.

This outrage was soon followed by others. On the twentyfourth of June, while the English were returning from public worship, it having been a day of fasting and humiliation, they were fired on in the highway, one was killed and two were wounded. Two of the party were despatched for a surgeon, both were shot dead. The onset was so sudden that no resistance was made. On the same day a house was attacked in a distant part of the town, and six men were barbarously slain. An Englishman was fired upon in Rehoboth, and the hilt of his sword was shot off. The people not dreaming of the calamities into which they were about to fall, were unsuspecting and unguarded. By this time half the town of Swansey was burned.

An Eng-
lishman
shot at in
Reho-
both.

Massachu-
setts
sends sup-
plies and
also mes-
sengers to
Philip,
who be-
coming
alarmed
return.

The supplies which had been requested by Plymouth of Massachusetts were forwarded, and two messengers were despatched from Boston to visit Philip; the government there, indulging the vain hope that by their mediation hostilities might be averted. The messengers reached Swansey on the day of the last butchery. Finding the dead bodies of the slain yet lying in the public highway, they despaired of their object; and becoming alarmed about their own safety, returned rapidly to Boston, and reported the sad tidings of the disasters which had befallen Swansey.

Captain
Hench-
man and
Captain
Prentice
march
from Bos-
ton for
Mt. Hope.

The government of Massachusetts promptly resolved to send assistance to Plymouth, and on the twentysixth of June, a company of infantry under the command of Captain Henchman, and a company of horse commanded by Captain Prentice marched for Mount Hope.

Some signs of ill omen impressed them with melancholy feelings. During their march, the moon was eclipsed, and they imagined that they discerned a black spot on its face resembling the scalp of an Indian; others imagined that they saw the form of an Indian bow. It was the age of superstition, and men whose minds were inclined to gloom, imagined that the displeasure of the Almighty was manifested in the heavens by visible signs. Notwithstanding the sinister interpretation which they put upon these appearances, they continued their march, and reached the house of one Woodcock in Rehoboth, (now Attleborough,) distant thirty miles from Boston, before they halted. It was then morning, and they resolved to wait the arrival of Capt. Mosely with his company of volunteers.

Mosely was a man of an intrepid spirit, and an excellent soldier. He had been a buccaneer in the West Indies, and had resided at Jamaica. The sound of war revived his enthusiasm for deeds of enterprise and danger. In the course of the day he arrived with a company of one hundred and ten volunteers, amongst whom were ten or twelve privateersmen with dogs. On the twentieth, they all reached Swansey.*

Captain
Mosely
joins them
with 110
volun-
teers.

They
reach
Swansey.

* In one of the histories from the library of Sir Walter Scott, it is related that one Cornellis, a Dutch pirate, who had been condemned to death but pardoned, went out with Mosely, and was sent on a scouting party with twelve men, with orders to return in three hours on pain of death. While out he fell in with sixty Indians who were drawing their canoes on shore, and attacked them with so much intrepidity and success, that he killed twelve, took eight prisoners, drove the remainder into the swamps, and burned all their canoes, being forty. On this enterprise he was absent eight hours. On his return a council of war was holden, and he was condemned to death for breach of orders, but pardoned in consideration of his bravery, and again sent out on another expedition from which he returned with twelve captives and two scalps.

Hutchinson in his History of Massachusetts, relates these stories in a note, but he must have taken them from this book, which is very inaccurate.

The feats of Cornellis being so remarkable, it seems surprising that the knowledge of them should have escaped the other historians of this war, particularly

Join Gen-
Cudworth
and the
Plymouth
forces at
Swansey.

James Cudworth, who had been appointed to the command of the Plymouth forces, with the rank of general, had arrived at Swansey with two companies commanded by Captains Gorham and Fuller. On the preceding night they had rendezvoused at Taunton, where Major Bradford had been ordered to prepare quarters, and to superintend their movements. Bradford requested Church to go with a company of English and friendly Indians to act as a vanguard, which he did; and preceding the main body, rejoined the army at Swansey, where head-quarters were established at the house of Mr Miles, an anabaptist minister, near a bridge which then bore, and now perpetuates his name. The great pass which led into Philip's country was over this bridge. A detachment was posted at Mr Brown's.

Skirmish-
ing at
Miles's
bridge.

The Indians were now so audacious as to shoot two of the sentinels. The Massachusetts troops arrived a little before night. Twelve of their cavalry, under the command of quarter-masters Gill and Belcher, accompanied by Church as a volunteer, passing the bridge to explore the country, were fired upon by eight or ten Indians, who were concealed in the bushes on the opposite side; one of them, William Hammond, was killed; Gill was struck by

of Hubbard, who is extremely minute in his details, and who wrote immediately after the termination of the war, and derived his information from the best sources.

But little credit can be attached either to this story, or that relating to the maid servant of Mr Minot of Dorchester. (which rests on the same authority.) Mr Minot's house was assailed (it is said) by an Indian, and defended successfully by this heroine, who concealing two small children under brass kettles, fired at the assailant and wounded him, but he still persisting, she beat him off by throwing live coals in his face, and wounded him so badly, that he died in the woods. Less credit is to be given to this writer's account of the violation of women, and the flaying alive of three English captives taken by the Indians at Dartmouth. All accounts concur in representing the Indians of New England to have invariably respected the honor of women.

a spent ball, and Belcher was wounded, and his horse shot under him. The cavalry were checked, and after firing at the Indians, who fled, finding both commanders wounded, became so much intimidated that they 'wheeled off,' leaving Hammond who was still on his horse, at the mercy of the enemy. Church, indignant at this dastardly conduct, remained, and assisted by Gill and another, bore off the body of Hammond, who was now dead; his horse escaping, ran towards the enemy, but Church having fearlessly pursued and secured him, on his return received a shower of balls from the Indians, who had now returned to their position, but he escaped without injury; the cavalry then repassed the bridge, and joined the main body.

Miles's house was as well fortified as their means and time would permit. On the next morning the Indians showed themselves at the bridge, and, after repeated shouts and yells, some of them had the temerity to pass, and to advance upon the English; but the whole company of horse and the volunteers under Mosely, exasperated at the insult, rushed furiously amongst them, drove them back over the bridge, and pursued them for some distance. Ensign Savage, a very young gentleman, but of a most intrepid spirit, gallantly bearing his colors in front of his company, was fired upon by ten or twelve of the enemy at once, and received a wound in his thigh, and a shot through his hat.* The English fired upon the Indians as they fled to a swamp, and killed five or six; but the weather became so tempestuous, that they could not pursue them with any prospect of success, and they again returned to the main body.

* Church says that Ensign Savage was wounded by a party of English, who mistook his party for the enemy.

Philip resolves to abandon the territory of Mt. Hope.

Philip having ascertained that the forces of Plymouth and Massachusetts had united, and being somewhat undeceived in his notions of English resolution, began to be fearful of the consequences of being hemmed in within the peninsula of Mount Hope. He determined to abandon his own territory, and try his fortune elsewhere.

Major Savage takes the command of the Massachusetts' forces.

On the next day Major Savage, who had been appointed to command the Massachusetts forces, arrived at headquarters with supplies. It was then resolved to march to Mount Hope.

The English explore Philip's country and find it abandoned.

In consequence of the inclemency of the weather, the march was deferred to the following day. At noon the whole body set forth, the horse being placed in the wings to prevent surprise, and the infantry in the centre. They had scarcely marched a mile when they came to the burning remains of some houses which the enemy had destroyed, and continuing their march three or four miles further they were shocked with the sight of the heads, and hands, and scalps of their murdered countrymen, raised on poles by the way side, which they buried by the direction of the commander. Two miles further brought them to Philip's town. The wigwams were deserted, and everything denoted the haste with which they had been abandoned. After a further march of two miles, they reached the sea without discovering a single Indian. Here they halted, and in consequence of the tempestuous weather, Cudworth and some of the Plymouth forces passed over to Rhode Island, to obtain better shelter than could be found at Mount Hope. Major Savage and the Massachusetts forces remained through the night in the open fields, exposed to all the fury of the storm, and being convinced that no Indians remained on Mount Hope, they returned in the morning to their quarters in Swansey. The cavalry were directed to proceed to Seekonk in Rehoboth, distant

six miles from Swansey, for more convenient quarters, and to return on the next morning. On their return, Captain Prentice divided his company, and giving the command of one squadron to Lieutenant Oakes, they proceeded to Swansey by different roads. On their march, both squadrons discovered a party of Indians engaged in burning a house; upon discovering the English, the Indians fled towards a swamp. Captain Prentice being separated from them by several fences could not attack them in season, but the party of Lieutenant Oakes, finding no obstruction, and nothing but a plain between the Indians and the swamp, attacked them with great bravery, and before they could gain the shelter of the swamp, killed four or five as they fled. Amongst the slain was Thebe a sachem, and another who was one of Philip's chief counsellors. One of Oakes' company, John Druce, was mortally wounded.

Affair at
Rehoboth.

When Prentice reached Swansey, information had been received from Cudworth, that the enemy had been discovered at Pocasset;* but notwithstanding this information, the Massachusetts' commanders resolved that Captain Henchman and Captain Prentice should scour all the woods and swamps in Philip's country, and clear them of any Indians who might be found lurking in their recesses; and that Major Savage attended by Captain Page and his dragoons, (who had accompanied him from Boston,) and Captain Mosely should proceed directly to Mount Hope, and in this manner either to attack the enemy or to ascertain with certainty that none remained in that country. After thoroughly exploring the country, they all returned

* A neck of land lying on the east side of Taunton river, and on the north of the streight or arm of the sea which divides Rhode Island from the main. Now in Tiverton.

to their head-quarters in Swansey without making any discoveries.

Notwithstanding the entreaties of Church, that the whole army should be moved to Pocasset, where they were sure of finding the enemy, the commanders chose to remain at Mount Hope, for the purpose of constructing a fort, a measure against which he bitterly remonstrated, inasmuch as it would consume much time to no purpose. In Indian warfare forts are of little consequence.

It was now the 4th of July, in the course of that day Cudworth and a part of his force returned to Swansey.

After leaving a guard of forty men on Mount Hope neck, Treasurer Southworth, the commissary general, wearied of holding a place where so much was expected, and so little could be performed, resigned, and Church was appointed to the office.

The forces of Massachusetts march to Narragansett.

Before night Captain Hutchinson arrived from Boston with orders from the government, that the Massachusetts troops should proceed forthwith to the Narragansett country, and prevent the sachems of that tribe from joining Philip. Strong suspicions were entertained that they inclined to his alliance, and only waited for a favorable moment to declare themselves. On the next morning, the commanders met to consult upon the necessary measures. They resolved to give the Narragansetts the alternative of peace or war, and should they choose the latter, to be prepared with a force sufficient for the exigency. In consequence of this determination, they put their whole force in motion. Captain Mosely and Captain Hutchinson proceeding by water, and the main body by land.

Captain Fuller marches to Pocasset.

While the forces of Massachusetts were pursuing their enterprise against the Narragansetts, those of Plymouth under General Cudworth remained at Swansey. Church still continued to urge the propriety of attacking Philip

while at Pocasset, with the whole remaining force, and ridiculed the project of erecting a fort in a country already deserted. Cudworth was at last induced to adopt a half-way measure, which in such circumstances is generally the most unwise policy ; for to insure success in an attack upon Philip, any sagacious partisan might have perceived that nothing less than the whole remaining force could effect the object. Instead of moving the whole force to Pocasset, he despatched Captain Fuller with a company of fifty men, and instructed him to propose terms to the Pocasset Indians, and to assure them that if they would continue friendly, and give hostages for their fidelity, they should not be molested.

In this command he joined Church with the rank of lieutenant, relying much on his thorough acquaintance with the Pocasset Indians, arising from his personal intercourse. The general proposed to perform a rapid march through Rehoboth and Taunton, and then to attack the enemy in the neighborhood of Dartmouth, or Middleborough, two English towns which he learned had been laid waste by Philip, and where he supposed he might be found ; this information was partially true ; Middleborough, distant only twelve miles from Plymouth, was nearly destroyed. The towns ' court of guard,' retired to a mill, while the Indians ravaged and burned the town. After this, the inhabitants, who were few in number, being not more than twenty families, abandoned the settlement, and retired to Plymouth.

While Cudworth was on this march, Fuller and Church reached Pocasset, and having explored the neck, kept watch through the night without making any discoveries. Fuller despaired of finding the enemy ; but Church, who knew their habits better, was convinced that they were still lurking in the woods, and persuaded Fuller to remain.

Fuller
pursued
by the
Indians.

All their provisions were in Church's pocket, and consisted only of a few rusks, of which the soldiers made a scanty breakfast ; the person to whom the duty of furnishing provisions had been entrusted, had neglected it ; and these brave men about engaging in a perilous and fatiguing enterprise, were destitute of a morsel of bread. Their object being to discover and hunt out the Indians, and to detach the Pocassets from Philip's influence, to effect it more surely, they divided their forces, and Fuller while on his march to the seaside, was discovered and pursued with great fury by a large body of Indians ; he found it in vain to attempt to parly with numbers so far superior to his own, and made a rapid retreat to the shore, and sheltering himself in a house near the water, finally succeeded in embarking his men in a sloop which was anchored near the shore, and sailed for Rhode Island ; one only of his men was wounded.

Church
engages
the In-
dians near
Punka-
teest.

Church with his small force of fifteen men, marched into the Numaquahquat neck ; discovering an Indian track leading into the great pine swamp, he pursued it, but so many rattlesnakes were found in the path, that the men were unwilling to proceed ; the course was changed, and he marched down the Punkateest neck, expecting to find the Indians in a large pease-field. His expectations were realized. The English and the Indians discovered each other at the same moment, and more than a hundred and fifty savages rose with a terrific yell from their covert, prepared for battle. Church instantly retreated, and though closely pursued, reached the shore without the loss of a man, in the midst of showers of bullets, and in extreme danger of being surrounded. He was then compelled to stand to his defence ; his men were intimidated and inclined to surrender ; but reanimated by his exhortations and resolute spirit, they defended themselves with

great intrepidity. The Indians kept up a constant fire from every fence, tree, stump, and rock. On the Rhode Island side there were many spectators of the fight. Church ordered his men to throw off their outside garments, and thus by showing their white shirts the great disparity of numbers, and the imminent danger of the English might be perceived. They were now driven down to the beach, and to complete their disasters, the Indians took possession of the ruins of a stone house, from which they were sadly annoyed. Church well knew the inclination which all men had at this period, to refer every incident to the special interposition of Providence, and perhaps he felt the same disposition himself; but whether it was so or not, he took the advantage of this feeling in his men, and represented to them that they were under the peculiar protection of the divine power, and not one of them would be harmed, if they took the proper precautions to secure themselves; to effect this, he directed each one to raise a large stone, and to shelter himself behind it. By adopting this mode the Indian fire was ineffectual. The failing confidence of the men was completely restored by an incident which happened in the heat of the fight. One of the soldiers was so much terrified that he could take no part in the defence. Church directed him to set up some stones; while raising a flat stone it was struck by a bullet; the soldier in utter dismay let the stone fall from his hands, but Church bade him to take courage, for God had given the bullet such a direction that it struck the stone and not his body; this explanation completely reassured him, and emboldened the others. From their slight barricado of loose stones, they continued the fight through the whole of a sultry afternoon, (it was the 8th of July) and not one was killed or wounded. A boat's crew coming to their relief from the island, received so warm a fire from the

Indians, that they hauled off; Church desired them to send their canoe, but no entreaties could induce them to venture. The soldiers entreated their countrymen to relieve them as their ammunition was nearly expended. Church instantly perceived what disastrous consequences might follow if this acknowledgment should be overheard by the enemy; for the purpose of deceiving them, he directed the master with much appearance of spirit, either to send his canoe ashore, or to draw off, threatening to fire upon him if he did not, and the dastard withdrew.

The Indians encouraged by the retreat of the boat, continued an incessant fire upon this small and forlorn party, who began to think that there was no safety except in flight. Church convinced them that flight was impracticable. He told them that he had observed so much of the 'remarkable and wonderful providence of God in hitherto preserving them, that it encouraged him to believe with much confidence, that God would yet preserve them; that not a hair of their heads should fall to the ground; that if they were patient, courageous, and prudently sparing of their ammunition, he doubted not that they would escape.' In the meantime, the night was approaching, the woods resounded with the infernal yells of the savages, the bullets flew thick and fast, and there literally seemed 'no eye to pity, and no arm to save.'

In this state of utter desolation, their ammunition exhausted, and their guns foul with repeated firings, Church descried a sloop approaching, which he supposed to be commanded by Captain Golding, and informed his men with much joy, that if it was, they were sure of a rescue, as Golding would not abandon them. It was Golding. He anchored at a distance from the shore, and veering out a cable, kept his vessel afloat, and cutting his canoe loose, it drifted to the shore. In this little canoe in which

two only could embark at once, all Church's men escaped in safety to the sloop; the attention of the Indians being diverted to the sloop in consequence of the brisk fire which was kept up from that quarter; the stern, sails, and colors of the sloop, were pierced through with bullets. Church was the last that left the spot; before he embarked in the canoe, he gave another instance of daring intrepidity. He had left his hat and cutlass at a spring from which he had drank during the fight. Unwilling to leave any trophy in the hands of the enemy, charging his musket, he quitted his shelter, and keeping it presented, in the face of the whole body of the Indians, and exposed to a shower of bullets, one of which disturbed his hair, he succeeded in bringing them off; after he had seated himself in the canoe, a bullet struck a stake directly against his breast. Church and his small company were set on shore at Rhode Island, after a contest protracted to six hours, against three hundred Indians.

Previous to this fight, but on the same day, five persons from Rhode Island who had gone into Pocasset neck to attend to their cattle, were attacked by the Indians, and one was wounded.

Church and his company having rejoined Fuller, returned to the garrison at Mount Hope, and Church now being commissary general, immediately went to the island to obtain provisions for the army. On the island he met with Alderman, a well known Pocasset Indian, who discovering that his queen, Weetamore, had resolved to join Philip, determined to abandon her, and fled secretly with his family to Rhode Island. He offered to guide Church to Weetamore's head quarters.

Church appreciating the importance of this intelligence, instantly returned to Mount Hope, and communicated the news of Weetamore's defection, and of Alderman's fidelity

Expedition
against
Weeta-
more, and
its failure.

and offer; the soldiers expressed great willingness to go on an expedition against Weetamore, and a party was detailed and placed under the command of Captain ———,* He marched about two miles, and then calling Church and Alderman, inquired of them 'how they knew that Philip and all his men were not by that time got to Weetamore's camp; or that by that time, all her own men were not returned to her again.' The Captain seemed to feel a strong sense of the danger of his enterprise. Church replied that everything which was known was communicated, that he saw nothing discouraging, that he was willing (with Alderman) to guide him to the spot, and to encounter more than his proper share of danger. The Captain still seemed apprehensive of dangers more than ordinary, from the superior number of the enemy, and told Church 'that if he was sure of killing all the enemy, and knew that he must lose the life of one of his men in the action, he would not attempt it.' Church advised him to lead his men to the windmill on Rhode Island, where they would be out of danger, 'and it would be less trouble to supply them with provisions;' but notwithstanding the sneers of Church, this cowardly officer leaving his men went to Mount Hope, and having obtained an additional force, returned in the sloop which was to take them to Fall river,† the place of Weetamore's head quarters. At Fall river the English were disembarked. Church, Baxter an Englishman, and Captain Hunter an Indian, went out on a scout; they soon discovered three of the enemy; one a near kinsman of Hunter, was wounded by him, and taken; he disdained to ask his life, but solicited favor for his squaw, and permission to smoke, and while smoking he was despatched by Hunter.

* Church conceals his name.

† In Troy.

They reached Weetamore's camp, and being discovered, a young Indian ran out with his gun, and was instantly killed. The Indians abandoned their camp, and being on the margin of a dense cedar swamp, they fled into it, and were briskly pursued. But the cowardly captain still under the influence of his fears, ordered them back, and they returned to the sloop being pursued in their turn, and having two men wounded. 'On the next day they returned to Mount Hope,' and terminated this inglorious expedition.

The bold action in which Church had been engaged at Punkateest against a force so superior in numbers to his own, raised the spirit of the English, and gave him confidence in himself. So great was his desire to engage with the Indians again, that he hastened to Narragansett, and taking a number of Capt. Henchman's men he returned to Pocasset, and had another encounter with Philip in which he was successful. Philip after losing fifteen of his warriors was compelled to retire into the great Pocasset swamp where Church did not deem it prudent to pursue him.

About this time Dartmouth was destroyed and many people killed, the remainder retired into Russell's house at Aponeganset which was converted into a garrison. After the destruction of Dartmouth, the Plymouth forces were ordered there, and as the Dartmouth Indians had not been concerned in this outrage, a negotiation was commenced with them. By the persuasions of Ralph Earl, and the promises of Capt. Eels who commanded the Plymouth troops, they were induced to surrender themselves as prisoners, and were conducted to Plymouth. Notwithstanding the promises by which they had been allured to submit, notwithstanding the earnest, vehement, and indignant remonstrances of Eels, Church, and Earl, the gov-

Destruction of
Dartmouth.

Surrender of the
Dartmouth Indians
and the infamous
conduct of the

govern-
ment of
Ply-
mouth.

ernment to their eternal infamy, ordered the whole to be sold as slaves, and they were transported out of the country, being about one hundred and sixty in number. So indignant was Church at the commission of this vile act, that the government never forgave the warmth and the bitterness of his expressions and the resentment which was then engendered induced them to withhold all command from this brave, skilful, honest, open-hearted and generous man, until the fear of utter destruction compelled them, subsequently, to entrust him with a high command. This mean and treacherous conduct, alienated all the Indians who were doubting, and even those who were strongly predisposed to join the English.

The Mas-
sachu-
setts for-
ces pene-
trate into
Narragan-
sett, and
effect a
treaty
with the
Narragan-
setts.

While Church was engaged with Philip, the Massachusetts forces penetrated into Narragansett. That part of the country of the Narragansetts which bordered on Philip's domain was abandoned, and the habitations were left desolate. The English succeeded in making a treaty, and in obtaining hostages for its faithful performance. Major Wait Winthrop and Richard Smith, had been directed by the government of Connecticut to join with the commissioners of Massachusetts in establishing a treaty. Major Savage, Capt. Hutchinson, and Joseph Dudley, were the commissioners of Massachusetts. These commissioners in making the treaty acted in behalf of Plymouth, as no part of the Plymouth forces had marched into that country, being engaged in watching Philip, and in defending their own towns.

The terms of the treaty were hard and humiliating to the Narragansetts, but the crisis was so dangerous, that the commissioners were justifiable in exacting them.

Articles, covenant and agreements had, made and concluded by and between Major Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Hutchinson, and Mr Joseph Dudley, in behalf of the

government of the Massachusetts colony, and Major Wait Winthrop, and Mr Richard Smith, on behalf of Connecticut colony, on the one part, and Agamaug, Wampsh, alias Corman, Taitson, Tawageson, counsellors and attornies to Canonicus, Ninigret, Matataog, old Queen Quaipen, Quananshit, and Pomham, the six present sachems of the whole Narragansett country on the other party, referring to several differences and troubles lately risen between them; and for a final conclusion of settled peace and amity between the said sachems, their heirs and successors forever, and the governors of the said Massachusetts and Connecticut, and their successors in the said governments forever.'

'I. That all and every of the said sachems shall from time to time carefully seize, and living or dead deliver unto one or other of the abovesaid governments, all and every of sachem Philip's subjects whatsoever, that shall come, or be found within the precincts of their lands, and that with greatest diligence and faithfulness.

'II. That they shall with their utmost ability use all acts of hostility against the said Philip and his subjects, entering his lands or any other lands of the English, to kill and destroy the said enemy, until a cessation from war with the said enemy be concluded by both the abovesaid colonies.

'III. That the said sachems by themselves and their agents, shall carefully search out and deliver all stolen goods whatsoever, taken by any of their subjects, from any of the English, whether formerly or latterly; and shall make full satisfaction for all wrongs or injuries done to the estate of any of the subjects of the several colonies, according to the judgment of indifferent men, in case of dissatisfaction between the offenders, and the offended parties, or deliver up the offenders.

‘IV. That all preparations for war, or acts of hostility against any of the English subjects, shall forever for the future cease; together with all manner of thefts, pilferings, killing of cattle, or any manner of breach of peace whatsoever, shall with utmost care be prevented, and instead thereof, their strength to be used as a guard round about the Narragansett country, for the English inhabitants’ safety and security.

‘V. In token of the above said sachems’ reality in this treaty and conclusion, and for the security of the several English governments and subjects, they do freely deliver unto the abovesaid gentlemen, in behalf of the abovesaid colonies, John Wobequob, Weowthim, Pewkes, and Weenew, four of their near kinsmen and choice friends, to be and remain as hostages in several places of the English jurisdictions, at the appointment of the honorable governors of the abovesaid colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as prisoners, but otherwise at their honor’s discretion, until the abovesaid articles are fully accomplished to the satisfaction of the several governments; the departure of any of them in the meantime, to be accounted breach of the peace, and of these present articles.

‘VI. The said gentlemen in the behalf of the governments to which they do belong, do engage to every the said sachems and their subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either the abovesaid English governments, or to Mr Smith, inhabitant of Narragansett, Philip sachem alive, he or they so delivering, shall receive for their pains, forty trucking cloth coats; in case they bring his head, they shall have twenty like good coats paid them; for every living subject of said Philip’s so delivered, the deliverer shall receive two coats, and for every head one coat, as a gratuity for their service herein, making it appear to satisfaction, that the heads or persons

are belonging to the enemy, and that they are of their seizure.

‘VII. The said sachems do renew and confirm unto the English inhabitants or others, all former grants, sales, bargains, or conveyances of lands, meadows, timber, grass, stones, or whatever else the English have heretofore bought, or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them and their heirs and assigns forever; as also all former articles made with the confederate colonies.

‘Lastly. The said counsellors and attorneys do premeditatedly, seriously, and upon good advice, covenant, conclude, and agree all abovesaid solemnly, and call God to witness they are, and shall remain true friends to the English governments, and perform the abovesaid articles punctually, using their utmost endeavor, care, and faithfulness, therein: in witness whereof they have set their hands and seals.

‘Petasquamscot, July 15, 1675.

‘Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us underwritten, being carefully interpreted the said Indians before sealing.

DANIEL HENCHMAN,

THOMAS PRENTICE,

NICHOLAS PAIGE,

JOSEPH STANTON, interpreter.

HENRY HAULAWS,

PECOE BUKOW,

JOB REFF.’

(Signed) by

TAWAGESON,

TAYTSON,

AGAMAUG,

WAMPSH, alias CORMAN.

In their instructions to Major Savage, the general court of Massachusetts said, ‘We do not judge that it will be of absolute necessity to put all the Indians that are neighboring to the English to the test of their fidelity. If they desire our friendship they must not harbor or nourish any that are our declared enemies; but in case that Philip or any of his men, women, or children, be fled to them, that they forthwith deliver them up, and also that they send

hostages for our security, and do join with us in the pursuit and conquest of their and our enemy; this we judge to be just and equal as well as necessary; we have commissioned Captain Hutchinson to repair to the Narragansett Indians, who will bring a small party with him, and will have a view of the force with you for his assistance.'

Massachusetts' forces return to Swansey.

Four days were consumed in making this treaty, the hostages were received, and the troops of Massachusetts again returned to their rendezvous in Swansey.

March to Pocasset through Taunton.

On the 15th of July they marched to Rehoboth, but discovering no enemies, and hearing that Philip with all his forces was still lurking in the great swamp at Pocasset, they changed their course, and on the next day, after marching twelve miles, they reached a house at Metapoiset, (now called Gardner's neck in Swansey, which runs into Mount Hope Bay, then called Taunton Bay,) and without attempting to cross the water, proceeded directly to Taunton, which they reached on the 17th, after a march of twenty miles. Here they found the people secured against a sudden onset in eight garrisoned houses.

Whether they were unprovided with boats or rafts to cross the river, which might have been done with ease in several places, by which this long march might have been saved, as they were almost in sight of Pocasset when at Metapoiset, or whether they were apprehensive of the safety of Taunton, or whether they marched there for the purpose of forming a junction with the troops of Plymouth must be left to conjecture.

Joined by the Plymouth forces under Cudworth. Reach the Pocasset swamp

On the next day (July 18) being joined by the Plymouth forces under Cudworth, they proceeded to the Pocasset swamp, which they reached after a march of eighteen miles. This swamp was seven miles long and the growth of wood and thicket was uncommonly dense. The soldiers entered it with great resolution, the Indians in-

stantly fired from the underwood, by which five of the English were killed, and seven wounded. Near the border of the swamp the Indians had erected a hundred wigwams, which they instantly abandoned and fled into its deepest recesses. The English having made a vain attempt to burn the wigwams, in which (as they were constructed of green bark) they were unsuccessful, as ascertained from an aged Indian whom they found in one of them, that Philip himself was in the swamp. This information induced them to continue their exertions, but as the darkness approached, the gloom increased, and the soldiers beginning to fire at every bush, thinking it was an Indian, and falling into some confusion, the commander ordered a retreat, and taking their dead and wounded, they abandoned the swamp. It was afterwards ascertained that half an hour's march would have brought them to Philip, and that he was prepared to surrender; this, in all probability would have terminated the war. Philip's brother was killed when the English entered the swamp.

This swamp was on the east side of a neck of land which was surrounded with water. The English being posted on its east side supposed that if they kept it guarded in that quarter, no way was left, by which an escape could be effected, and knowing that the provisions of the Indians must be nearly exhausted, they reckoned with certainty upon capturing the whole. Under this impression they deemed it useless to keep so great a force together. The troops of Massachusetts were therefore permitted to depart with the exception of Capt. HENCHMAN and a hundred men, who remained with the forces of Plymouth to watch the enemy.

Gen. Cudworth in his letter to Gov. Winslow, had strongly recommended the establishment of a guard at Mount Hope and at Pocasset, and the employment of the main body as a flying army to move from place to place.

and attack the Indians who retire into the swamp.

All the Massachusetts forces except Capt. HENCHMAN's company march away. The Plymouth forces and HENCHMAN remain to watch the Indians.

Major Savage, Capt. Page, and Capt. Mosely, with their commands returned to Boston, and Capt. Prentice with his company of horse, was despatched across the country to Mendon, near the Nipmuck country, where some outrages had been committed.

Com-
mence
building
a fort.

In the meantime the troops which had been left at Pocasset, unwilling to encounter the Indians in a swamp fight, with the dangers of which they were well acquainted, and to secure a surrender with more certainty, commenced the building of a fort at a place where an escape was possible.

Philip es-
capes
across the
river and
flies to the
Nipmuck
country.

Philip being driven to desperation, certain of being captured if he remained, and hopeless of mercy, ventured upon the hazardous expedient of escaping by water. The part of the swamp which he occupied was near the great Taunton river.* Over this river he effected his escape in the night of the last day of July with his best warriors, either by transporting them on rafts, or by swimming.† The women and children about a hundred in number, were abandoned to the mercy of the English. A part of Philip's force spread themselves into the wilderness about Taunton, where they succeeded in burning the houses of John Tisdill and James Walker. Tisdill was killed and two other soldiers, viz. John Knolles and Samuel Atkins of Eastham.‡

Burns two
houses
and kills
three men
at Taun-
ton.

Pursued
by the Re-
hoboth
people
under the
command

The country through which Philip fled, being level, he was soon discovered. Encouraged by the animated exhortations of Mr Newman the minister of Rehoboth, the inhabitants of that place pursued him with great boldness and

*Called by Hubbard, an arm of the sea.

†Hubbard says, that at a low tide he might have waded over. It is impossible that he could have escaped by wading, as the river was not fordable at any place within ten miles of Pocasset swamp.

‡ Letter from John Freeman, to Gov. Winslow. H. C. vol. 6, page 91.

activity, and in this pursuit none discovered more boldness or zeal than the minister. In these times when men fought for existence, the ministers often assumed the sword, and exhibited many instances of daring resolution and heroic enterprise.

A company of Moheagan Indians who had offered their services to the English, were directed to put themselves under the command of Capt. HENCHMAN. On their return from Boston, they discovered the people of Rehoboth while in pursuit of Philip, and joined in the pursuit. A small number also joined them from Providence. So rapid was their movement that they overtook the rear of Philip's forces at night, and attacking them with great spirit, killed thirty, and gained much booty without any loss.

of their minister Mr New-man.

The English are joined by a company of Moheagan Indians and they attack Philip with success.

As soon as the flight of Philip was discovered at Pocasset, Capt. HENCHMAN embarked six files of men in boats, who rowed up Providence river, reached Providence on the same day, and immediately marched in pursuit of Philip; after a march of twentytwo miles principally on the track of Philip, he halted, and was soon joined by the Rehoboth party, who had abandoned the pursuit and were returning for their horses, which had been left at some distance in the rear previous to their engagement. The pursuit was continued by Capt. HENCHMAN and his company and the Moheagans, with whom he divided his provisions, but being joined by Capt. EDMUNDS and Lieutenant BROWN from Providence, he was again supplied. The pursuit was continued in the morning as far as Nipsatchet, but the men being fatigued and the provisions consumed, it was then given over.

Captain HENCHMAN pursues Philip without success.

The Moheagans then left Capt. HENCHMAN, and returned to their own country.

HENCHMAN marched for Mendon, and on his march fell in with Mosely who had been despatched by the governor

of Massachusetts to supply him with provisions. Mosely having been made acquainted with the ill success of the pursuit, it was determined that HENCHMAN should proceed to Boston for orders. The governor remanded him to Pocasset, where he was directed to remain if his services were required, otherwise, to leave the fort in the possession of the Plymouth forces, which was done, and he returned to Boston, and was ordered by the governor to disband his men.

Hubbard says that 'it is better to suspend than too critically to inquire into the reasons, why Philip was pursued no further.' Whether he intended that it should be understood that the people of Rehoboth, or Capt. HENCHMAN were censurable is uncertain. The first certainly deserve no censure. As soon as Philip's escape was discovered, they commenced a vigorous pursuit. They composed no part of the regular force of the colony, their movement was spontaneous, instigated by the minister; they attacked the enemy boldly and successfully.

Whether any jealousy existed on the part of Massachusetts; whether they were willing that Philip should escape for a time, still further to harass the people of Plymouth, and so render them more sensible of the value of the assistance which they received from them, or whether HENCHMAN was fearful of a fight, are questions which cannot now be answered satisfactorily. If the government of Massachusetts did suffer a policy of so selfish a character to influence them, they erred much to their own disadvantage. If HENCHMAN could have finished the war by the capture of Philip, and if he was prevented by the secret orders of his own government, the government incurred a heavy responsibility to their own citizens, for the theatre of war was now transferred from Plymouth to Massachusetts.

Governor Winslow who had been particularly threatened by Philip, who cherished a deep personal antipathy to him by reason of the seizure of his brother Alexander, deemed it prudent to send his wife and children to Salem and to put his house in a complete state of defence.

Governor Winslow removes his family to Salem. Philip reaches the Nipmuck country and commences his ravages.

Philip reached the Nipmuck country in safety, and again commenced his operations with such dire success, that through the whole of that region he might be tracked by the smoke of the burning houses, and by the blood of the slaughtered English.

On the fourteenth of July, some of the people of Mendon while laboring in the fields, were attacked by the Indians, who after killing five or six of them fled from pursuit and concealed themselves. Mendon being an insulated settlement in the heart of the Indian country, the inhabitants determined to abandon their homes and to retire to the more populous country. They had scarcely departed when every house in the settlement was reduced to ashes.

Mendon attacked and the settlement abandoned and afterwards burnt.

Hitherto the war had been confined to Philip's own tribe, but this incident afforded strong presumptive evidence that the Nipmuck Indians, (over whom those of Pokanoket had always exercised great influence,) notwithstanding their partial conversion to Christianity, were inclined to his cause; their known predilection was probably the cause which induced Philip to fly to their country.

Doubtful conduct of the Nipmucks.

Four Nipmuck sachems engaged themselves, (July 24,) to Lieutenant Curtis, that they would preserve the existing peace inviolate. Their assurances tended, in some degree, to allay the fears of the few English inhabitants of that country.

The government of Massachusetts still apprehensive of danger, despatched messengers to the Nipmucks, who, under the pretence of trade, really went to ascertain their

Capt.
Hutchin-
son and
Capt.
Wheeler
march for
Brookfield

disposition towards the English ; they discovered amongst the young men evident indications of hostile temper, but the elders were in great doubt, and fearful of the consequences of war. The period of the war had been anticipated ; they were unprepared, and could come to no decision. Captain Hutchinson was despatched to that country for the purpose of treating, and shortly after, (July 28,) Captain Wheeler was despatched with twenty horse to join him.

Ambushed
by the In-
dians, and
defeated.
Hutchin-
son killed
and
Wheeler
wounded.

Wheeler proceeded directly to Quaboag or Brookfield, an insulated town in the midst of the Nipmuck country, inhabited by about twenty English families, and near the principal seat of the Nipmuck Indians. The fears of the Brookfield people had been lulled in consequence of an assurance from the Indians that they would treat with them, and the day was determined, on which the treaty was to be executed, and the place for the conference was fixed. Wheeler and Hutchinson both proceeded to the appointed place accompanied by the horse, and by some of the principal inhabitants of Brookfield. Finding no Indians at the appointed place, they determined to proceed to their town. So unsuspecting were the inhabitants of any danger, that they went without their arms. Having marched four or five miles farther, they came to a place called Momimisset, where, on one side, a high hill rose almost perpendicularly from the road ; the other was skirted by an impassable swamp. In this narrow pass they were assailed by three hundred Indians, who lay in ambush ; the savages rose from their lurking places, and poured upon the devoted English a destructive fire. Eight were killed instantly, and three were mortally wounded, amongst whom was Captain Hutchinson. Captain Wheeler's horse was killed under him, and he received a shot through the body, but his

life was saved by the desperate courage of his son, who, seeing his perilous situation, notwithstanding his own arm had been broken by a bullet, dismounted from his horse, upon which, disabled as he was, he contrived to place his father, and then, catching another, whose owner had been killed, he mounted, and both escaped; and afterwards recovered of their wounds. The whole road from the place where they had been ambushed, to Brookfield, was waylaid by the enemy, but one of the inhabitants being acquainted with a path through the woods but little travelled, led the remnant of this unfortunate company in safety through this path to Brookfield, which they had scarcely reached, when the Indians, fresh from the slaughter, rushed into the town, breathing threats of extermination.

The inhabitants had been alarmed, and had collected for the purpose of making a better defence into one house, where they were joined by Capt. Wheeler and the remnant of his company.

The Indians, after vainly endeavoring to cut off the retreat of five or six men who had been to a neighboring house to secure some property, and killing one Samuel Pritchard, instantly fired the town, and collected their whole force to attack the house to which the English had retired.

The only mode by which the house could be fortified, was by piling large logs on the outside, and hanging up feather beds against the walls within. By these means the force of the bullets was deadened. For two whole days the Indians continued to assail the house, constantly pouring in a fire of musquetry. Fastening fire-brands and pieces of cloth which had been immersed in burning brimstone to long poles, they vainly essayed to set it on fire. They kindled a large heap of combustibles di-

The garri-
son at
Brookfield
besieged
by the In-
dians.

rectly against it, which compelled the English to leave it, to draw water from the well, which was in a small yard, surrounded by a board fence, and open to the enemy's fire, yet they succeeded in extinguishing the flames, and only one man was wounded. Baffled in every attempt, the Indians at last filled a cart with hemp, flax, and other combustibles, and connecting a number of poles together, began to push it backward against the house, but this fire was quenched by a sudden shower of rain. The scene was terrific. The Indians were transported with rage. Their faces hideously caricatured with paint, their passionate gestures, and the wild and furious expression of their countenances, after the repeated obstacles which had prevented their purpose, all conspired to excite in the unfortunate inmates of the house the most gloomy and fearful apprehensions, but their courage never quailed. The Indians offered no quarter, and they disdained to ask it, but with stout hearts stood steadily to the contest. Within the house were seventy souls, and what added to the horror of their situation, many of them were women and children. At last, by one of those chances which sometimes occur when all hopes of relief seem to be terminated, they were succored.

Major
Willard
relieves
them.

Major Willard, in pursuance of an order of the Governor and council of Massachusetts, was about to set forth on a march against some Indians west of Boston. He was accompanied by Capt. Parker of Groton, and forty-six men. Having learned from some people, (who came express from Marlborough to give him the information,) of the impending danger of Brookfield, he determined to march to its succor. He arrived in the vicinity of the besieged garrison before it was dark, having marched thirty miles. Although the Indians had taken great pains in preventing the accession of any aid to the besieged, by

planting ambushes in every direction, and by posting a hundred of their warriors at a house which they had spared for the purpose, which was situated near the only way by which they supposed any force from Boston could march to their relief, yet they were so much engaged in their attempts to burn the house which contained the garrison, and so silently and skilfully did Major Willard manage his approach, that he was perceived by the garrison, before he was discovered by the Indians. His company were instantly admitted within the house, but so poor was the shelter, that before the horses could be placed out of danger, several of them were killed and maimed by the fire of the enemy.

The Indians now despairing of their purpose, set fire to all the buildings including the meeting-house, and after completing the desolation of Brookfield, in which neither house nor barn was left standing, save that which contained the garrison, gave over the enterprise, and retired into the woods after continuing the siege for three days.

The Indians retire after burning the town.

On the 5th of August, they were joined by Philip, in a swamp about twelve miles from Brookfield, with forty men, (thirty of whom were armed with muskets,) and many women and children. Upon hearing of the mischief which they had committed at Quaboag, he presented them with a large quantity of wampum. He informed them that in his escape from Pocasset he was attended by two hundred and fifty men, besides women and children, but many of his men were killed, and many deserted him by the way.

During this siege, although the house was perforated with bullets, only one Englishman was killed. From the best accounts which could be obtained, the Indians lost no less than eighty. A garrison was maintained at this solitary house until winter, when it was removed by order

of the government, and the people were also ordered to abandon the place, which they did, and the house was afterwards burned by the Indians.

Capt. Lothrop and Capt. Beers sent to the Nipmuck country.

Major Willard remained at Brookfield to protect the people, scour the woods, and to prevent a junction between the Nipmucks and the Indians of Connecticut river. Captain Lothrop and Captain Beers, with several other companies, amongst which was Mosely's, were ordered to repair there for the same purpose. These companies ranged the woods for several weeks, but without success, as they were always discovered by the Indian scouting parties. It was also suspected that their Nipmuck allies gave information of their motions to the enemy; but the Indians were gradually driven back to the Connecticut river.

Lieut. Cooper marches from Springfield for Brookfield.

Major Pynchon, of Springfield, having heard of the disaster at Brookfield, despatched a messenger to Hatfield with the information. Twentyfive men were instantly ordered to march under Capt. Watts; at Springfield, they were joined by Lieutenant Cooper with some Indians, who pretended to be friendly:—finding no enemies at Brookfield, they continued their march twenty miles to the northward, but met with no success; leaving a few of the men in garrison at Brookfield, they returned to Springfield.

Capt. Mosely explores the country.

Mosely explored the country between Brookfield and Lancaster, whither he had been led by learning that an Englishman, his wife, and two children, had been killed there, and that an English boy had been shot at in Marlborough.

Arrests some of the Hassanamesset Indians, and conveys them to Boston.

The Indian who fired on the boy, was supposed to have been one of the Hassanamesset tribe, who professed to be friendly. This tribe had been ordered to confine themselves within the bounds of Marlborough,

but the English becoming alarmed, demanded their guns, and Mosely finding much ammunition concealed in their baskets, suspected they had been concerned in the outrages at Lancaster and Marlborough. He arrested eleven, and guarded them to Boston, where they were tried and acquitted; but these, together with the other Indians of Hassanamisset, were deprived of their arms, and confined on one of the islands in Boston harbor.

Mosely was then despatched with his company to some Indian settlements on the Merrimack, but he found them deserted. Woonalanset, the sachem of the Pennicook or Pannukog Indians, had withdrawn himself into the interior, with the design, as it was supposed, to keep out of the war. It was well known that he was inclined to peace.*

As Mosely found no employment on the Merrimack, he was again despatched to the Connecticut river for the purpose of defending Hadley, one of the most flourishing settlements on that river, and which was considered to be in great danger; there, also, Major Willard went, but

Mosely
sent to the
Merri-
mack.

And again
to Con-
necticut
river to
defend
Hadley.

* Woonalanset was the son of Passaconoway, a powerful sachem, who was reputed to have possessed supernatural powers. His subjects believed that it was in his power to make water burn, and trees dance, and to metamorphose himself into a flame; that in winter he could raise a green leaf from the ashes of a dry one, and a living serpent from the skin of one that was dead. An English gentleman who had been much conversant amongst the Indians, was invited, in 1660, to a great dance and feast, on which occasion the elderly men in songs or speeches recite their histories or deliver their sentiments and advice to the younger. At this solemnity, Passaconoway, being grown old, made his farewell speech to his children and people, in which, as a dying man, he warned them to take heed how they quarrelled with their English neighbors: for though they might do them some damage, yet it would prove the means of their own destruction. He told them that he had been a bitter enemy to the English, and by the arts of sorcery had tried his utmost to hinder their settlement and increase; but could by no means succeed. Woonalanset remembered the advice of his father, and withdrew himself from this contest.

finding no enemy, he left the forces under the command of his Major, and returned to his own regiment. His fate was disastrous. He was cashiered for disobedience of orders in marching to the relief of Brookfield. Unable to brook the disgrace, this brave and humane man died of a broken heart.

Death of
Major
Willard.

Sale of
arms and
ammuni-
tion to any
Indians
forbidden
by law.

The apprehension of a general disaffection amongst the Indians, induced the government of Plymouth about this time to enact a law, by which the sale, barter, or gift, of guns or ammunition to the Indians, was made punishable with death.

The peo-
ple of Bos-
ton exas-
perated
with Mr
Eliot and
Capt.
Gookins
for their
partiality
to the
praying
Indians.

Mr Eliot, and Capt. Gookins the Indian Commissioner, fell into great disrepute at Boston, by reason of their exertions in behalf of some praying Indians, who had been tried and condemned on suspicion; in consequence of their pressing solicitations, eight had been released:—the people of Boston were so much exasperated at this act of lenity, that they surrounded the house of Captain Oliver, with a view to force him to take the command of a party to break the prison, and to hang, by way of example, at least one of the imprisoned Indians. Oliver spurned the offer, and beat the fellow who made it, and immediately informed the governor. Gookins was afraid to walk the streets. The rage of the people was so great, that the governor gratified them with a victim, and an Indian was executed. An incident occurred at this execution, which displayed, in a horrible manner, a peculiar notion of the Indians;—one of the friends of the victim made an incision into his breast, from which he sucked the warm blood, assigning as a reason that the entire strength of the dying man would be transmitted to him.

Force the
governor
to execute
an Indian
prisoner.

The
friendly
Indians
regulated.

On the thirtieth of August, an order was passed in the Council of Massachusetts for regulating the friendly Indians, by which they were to be restrained from hunting

in the woods. They were also ordered to place their wigwams compactly. None were to travel more than a mile from their dwellings unless in company with Englishmen, except for the purpose of gathering corn, and then they were to be attended by at least one Englishman. They were forbidden to receive any strange Indians or any of their plunder, and if any Indians should come amongst them, or send any of their plunder, they were directed to disclose the same to such Englishmen as should be appointed to sojourn amongst them, under the penalty of being reputed enemies. The council further ordered that it should be lawful either for the English or friendly Indians, upon finding any strange Indians skulking or travelling in any of the towns or woods without the limits prescribed, 'to command them under their guard and examination, or to kill and destroy them as they best may or can; the council hereby declaring, that it will be most acceptable to them that none be killed or wounded that are willing to surrender themselves into custody. The places of the Indian residences are Natick, Punquapog, Nashoba, Wamesit, and Hassanamesit; and if there be any that belong to any other plantations, they are to repair to some one of these.'

In the same month the Council of War passed an order with the following preamble. 'Forasmuch as by frequent and sad experience it is found that selling of arms and ammunition to the Indians is very pernicious and destructive to the English,' it was therefore 'ordered, decreed, and enacted, that all persons who should sell, barter, or give arms, or ammunition to the Indians, the same being proved, should be put to death.'

The theatre of the war was now transferred to Connecticut river. The Nipmucks and Philip's Indians having been gradually driven back, now lurked in that

Connecticut river becomes the seat of the war.

wide extent of forest, which bordered the river from Hadley to Squakeag or Northfield.

Settle-
ments on
that river
in Massa-
chusetts.

There were some feeble English settlements on both banks of this noble river. On the east bank, a small one at Long Meadow, adjoining the colony of Connecticut; farther north was Springfield, which was the most ancient settlement on the river, within the limits of Massachusetts. Hatfield contained but few families. Northfield or Squakeag was the most northerly settlement. On the west bank, a small settlement had been commenced at Westfield; at some distance from the river, north of Westfield, and nearly opposite Hatfield, was North Hampton, yet in its infancy. Directly opposite Hatfield was Hadley, which ranked next to Springfield. North of Hadley, a few families had seated themselves on the rich, productive, and beautiful lands of Pocomtuck, (Deerfield.) West of these towns, there was almost an uninterrupted wilderness extending to the region near the river Hudson, which was peopled by one of the branches of the stock of the Lenni Lenape or Delawares, called Mohicans. On the opposite bank dwelled the fierce and warlike Mohawks. A small Dutch settlement called Fort Orange, (since Albany,) was the only place inhabited by Europeans for many miles.

The Indians on the Connecticut river had maintained an uninterrupted peace with the English, and no doubts were entertained of their fidelity. The friendship between the English and the Indians who dwelt in the vicinity of Springfield and Hadley, had been strengthened by a long intercourse and mutual good offices. The land was wide enough for both, and the bounties of nature were sufficient to afford to all, the comforts which they required.

Hadley
Indians
deceive
the Eng-
lish.

The Hadley Indians offered their services to prosecute the war against Philip and the Nipmucks, and went out with the English in their excursions. The Moheagans

whose fidelity to the English had been unshaken, understanding their inclinations and feelings better than the English, disclosed to them their falsehood and deceit. In their marches through the woods, whenever they came upon the enemy, the Hadley Indians by making loud shouts would discover the danger, and an escape was easily effected. In consequence of these representations, the English became suspicious, and required of their Hadley allies a surrender of their arms. Immediately after this demand, the Indians abandoned their habitations near Hatfield, where they had dwelt in a rudely fortified town, and fled to Philip. The sachems and elders of the tribe consented to the measure with great reluctance, but they were compelled by the resolute spirit of the youth. The hostile temper of the Hadley Indians being now discovered, they were pursued by Captain Lothrop and Captain Beers who overtook them about ten miles above Hatfield, at a place called Sugar Loaf Hill, and instantly engaged them. In this skirmish the English lost ten men, and the Indians twenty-six; the remainder of the Indians made their escape and joined Philip. Beers and Lothrop returned to Hadley.

Skirmish
between
them and
Captain
Beers and
Captain
Lothrop.

On the 1st of September, Hadley was attacked while the people were at their devotions in the meeting-house. At the sound of the alarm they seized their arms, which they always carried with them even to the house of the Lord, and stood boldly on their defence, but the attack being unexpected, they were thrown into confusion, and were in danger of being defeated. While the fight was raging, a tall and majestic man with white locks, and a venerable aspect, suddenly appeared in the midst of them. With a loud and commanding voice he rallied the disordered soldiers, reformed their broken ranks, and animated them to resist. Order was instantly restored, and the

Hadley
attacked
by the In-
dians who
are re-
pulsed by
Major
General
Goffe, one
of the reg-
icides.

savages were repelled in every quarter ; his disappearance was as sudden as his appearance, and he was never seen after by the people of Hadley, and the belief was for a long time fondly entertained, that an angel had been sent down from Heaven to rescue the chosen people of the Lord in the hour of their distress and peril. This notion was perfectly consonant with the superstition of the age, but it was afterwards ascertained that it was Major General Goffe, one of Cromwell's old soldiers, and one of the régicide judges of King Charles. Concealed in the house of Russell, the minister of Hadley, he had escaped observation many years, and the place of his residence was known only to a few of his most confidential friends.

Deerfield
attacked
and nearly
destroyed.

On the same day an attack was made upon Deerfield. The town was nearly destroyed, but only one man was killed.

Squakeag
or North-
field
attacked.

At Squakeag, (or Northfield) the savages met with better success, killing ten men, and driving the remainder into the garrison. The English apprehending an attack upon Squakeag, Captain Beers was despatched with thirtysix men to reinforce the garrison. At some distance from the town he was ambushed by several hundred Indians, who were lurking in the bushes on the margin of a large swamp. Beers was a man of intrepid courage, he defended himself with great gallantry, and disdaining to yield, fought until he was slain. Twenty of his men fell at the same time and the remainder escaped with much difficulty to Hadley. The barbarians wreaked their vengeance on the dead bodies of the slain, fixing their heads on poles, and hanging one up by a hook fastened in his jaw.

Defeat
and death
of Captain
Beers.

Major Treat was despatched with a hundred men to bring off the garrison at Squakeag. Captain Appleton who marched up the river on the next day, met Treat returning, and endeavored to persuade him to go back

and attack the enemy, but Treat's men being intimidated by the sight of the outrages which had been perpetrated upon the bodies of the slain, were unwilling to engage in the enterprise, and they both returned.

The commander in chief at Hadley, after counselling with his officers, ordered garrisons to be posted at North Hampton, Hatfield, and Deerfield. The one at Hadley was kept up and established as the head-quarters.

At Deerfield there were about three thousand bushels of corn in stacks. It was thought expedient to bring it away. On this service Captain Lothrop volunteered to go with eighty men to guard the teams. On the 18th of September, while on an easy march, not apprehending the least danger, he was suddenly assailed by a numerous body of Indians, and after maintaining an unequal contest for several hours, was totally defeated and slain. Ninety men (including the drivers) fell in this disastrous fight, and only seven or eight escaped. Lothrop was a young man of great promise, of intrepid courage, and of competent skill in the art of war, but a theorist; he had adopted an opinion that the Indians could be the most successfully encountered in their own mode, and that during a fight every soldier should gain the shelter of a tree. If the numbers of the conflicting parties were nearly equal, this mode might be judicious, but if there was a great disparity in the numbers, the smaller party must inevitably be defeated, and the only advantage would be the chance of killing a number of the enemy equal to their own. In fighting an Indian enemy with inferior numbers, it is generally expedient to obtain a shelter where the rear cannot be assailed, and then to face them with cool determination. In this way Indians have been frequently intimidated, and beaten off by smaller numbers. The charge of the bayonet they have never been known to stand. Lothrop's

Captain
Lothrop
surprised
and slain
with ninety
of his
men.

company comprised the flower of the youth of the county of Essex, all having been selected for their courage, strength, activity, and enterprise. This was the greatest defeat which the English sustained during the whole war. The Indians engaged, were supposed to have amounted to seven or eight hundred. Their loss was not certainly known, but from some confessions made afterwards, it was supposed to have been ninety-six.

Captain
Mosely
marching
to the as-
sistance of
Lothrop
engages
the In-
dians.

Mosely who had been despatched to the assistance of Lothrop arrived too late, but he attacked the Indians with great intrepidity, and often penetrated through their whole force. On a march of more than seven miles, he was constantly engaged. Constantly forming his men and charging at their head; sometimes overcome by fatigue, he was compelled to rest; his lieutenants, Savage and Pickering, placing themselves at the head of the men would renew the charges. He escaped with the loss of two men killed; eight or nine were wounded. During the fight Mosely was joined by Major Treat with a company of a hundred English and Moheagans; when the hostile Indians perceived this, they disappeared and left the field to the English.

Joined by
Major
Treat.

The
Indians
retire.

When Mosely attacked the Indians they were stripping the slain; he charged them so vigorously, that they were driven into the swamp from which they had first fired upon Lothrop:—One Robert Dutch of Lothrop's company had been wounded in the head by a bullet, and by a tomahawk, after being stripped he was left for dead on the field; he was however alive, and was carried off by his friends and cured.

Indians
appear
before
Deerfield.

The Indians soon after appeared before Deerfield when there were only twenty-seven soldiers in the garrison; to insult the garrison they held up the garments of those who had been slain in Lothrop's fight, and discovering

some disposition to attack, the captain ordered the trumpets to sound, and the Indians supposing that it was a signal to troops who were in the neighborhood, desisted from their purpose and passed on.

To complete the misfortunes of the English, the Springfield Indians who had hitherto been steady in their fidelity, now joined the enemy. From the commencement of the war the people of Springfield had taken unwearied pains to keep these Indians true to their engagements, and had received from them the strongest assurances not only by promises, covenants in writing, but also by hostages. The hostages for greater security had been sent down to Hartford, but being carelessly watched, they escaped to their friends. Their hostages being safe, the Springfield tribe immediately admitted three hundred of Philip's Indians into their fort or strong place which was only a mile from the English town, and resolved upon the destruction of Springfield. To this course they were more inclined as they were of the same tribe with the Hadley Indians who had already joined Philip, and their sachem was the father of the sachem of Hadley. The escape of their hostages, and their junction with Philip, were circumstances which were unknown at Springfield.

Spring-
field
Indians
join the
enemy.

One Toto, an Indian who was attached to the English, revealed the plot to some of the people of Windsor; they immediately despatched a messenger to Springfield with the news, but the messenger gained no credit. So incredulous was Lieutenant Cooper who commanded the military force, that he set forth in the morning with a single companion to visit the Indian fort, for the sole purpose of satisfying the people that no hostile designs were cherished by their Indian neighbors. In the immediate vicinity of the fort he met their whole force on the march for Springfield; the Indians fired; his com-

Attack Lt.
Cooper.

Burn
Spring-
field in
part.

Major
Treat
relieves
Spring-
field.

Mr Glover's
Library burnt.

Major
Pyncheon
resigns.

Capt. Ap-
pleton
com-
mands.

panion was killed, and Mr Cooper was shot through the body in several places, but being a man of great resolution he kept his seat on his horse until he reached a garrisoned house, into which he escaped. The town was then assailed, and every ungarrisoned house was fired. The people destitute of a leader, and hopeless of escaping, were thrown into the utmost consternation, but Major Treat who had been appointed commander in chief of the Connecticut forces, and ordered to march to Norwich, had been countermanded and directed to proceed to North Hampton, and had actually reached Westfield, where he was informed of Toto's revelation; alarmed for the fate of Springfield, Treat marched to its assistance, and reached the town in season to take the command; but as his soldiers could not be immediately transported across the river for want of boats, at first he could render but partial relief, but being soon joined by many of the soldiers who had been quartered at Hadley, now commanded by Major Pyncheon, and Captain Appleton, the town was rescued, and the enemy driven off, after they had burnt thirtytwo houses. One of the best libraries in the colony belonging to Mr Glover the minister, was consumed. The property was then secured in the garrisoned houses, and after the garrisons were strengthened, the remainder of the soldiers returned to Hadley.

Major Pyncheon sorely fatigued with various duties of the most arduous kind, and having lost much property by the burning of his barns and stables a few days previous to this attack, and his own affairs requiring his whole attention, resigned his command, and all the forces on the river were placed under the command of Captain Appleton.

Appleton managed his command with great ability and industry, doing everything within his means to place the

settlements in a state of security and preparing his defences with great skill.

Capt. Mosely and Capt. Poole were placed in garrison at Hatfield. The Indians encouraged by their late successes ventured on the nineteenth of October to attack that town, having previously killed ten soldiers who were scouting, the greater part of whom belonged to Mosely's company. The number of the savages amounted to nearly eight hundred. The town was attacked on every side. One side was defended by Appleton, the other by Poole, and the centre by Mosely; wherever the Indians appeared they were met with great intrepidity by the English, and repulsed with great loss, after they had burnt a few barns and out buildings and mortally wounded one man. This check discouraged them, and they attempted no enterprise of consequence through the remainder of the season. A few continued to lurk about Westfield, North Hampton, and Springfield. Some of the people of North Hampton were attacked while gathering the harvest, but no lives were lost, and notwithstanding the arrival of Major Treat, the enemy succeeded in burning four or five houses and some barns which were detached from the town. A short time after, they killed three men while at their work. Six or seven of the people of Springfield while proceeding to the mill at Westfield without their arms, were attacked and three were killed.

Indians attack Hatfield which is successfully defended by Captain Mosely, Poole, and Appleton.

Burn some houses at North Hampton.

Kill some there and at Springfield.

A few houses were burnt at Westfield.

Some Indians remained in the woods during the winter and did some trifling damage to some of the out buildings at Springfield, burnt one house and killed a man. The main body retired to Narragansett. Whether Philip went with them, or remained in the vicinity of the river Hudson during the winter, is not certainly known. A price had been placed on his head, and though it was supposed that

Indians retire to Narragansett.

he was present in the various fights both in the Nipmuck country and on the Connecticut river, it was never certainly known. He adopted so many disguises and took such effectual means to conceal himself, that he completely baffled all attempts to ascertain his person and his abiding place. A few of the Indians retired to the woods which bordered the Hudson.

The people on Connecticut river after surrounding their towns with palisades made of cleft wood, retired quietly to their winter quarters, and the houses being sufficiently garrisoned, the remainder of the troops returned to their homes.

Captain
Hench-
man re-
pulsed
near Men-
don.

On the first of November, Capt. Henchman marched from Boston to Hassanamesit; on the fourth day of his march his scouts discovered a wigwam and several Indians; the Indians fled, leaving behind them a lad whom they had taken a short time before at Marlborough. Henchman pursued his march to Soppachuog, but returned to Mendon upon finding that the Indians of that place had fled. Here he heard of some Indians in the woods at the distance of ten miles, and mounting his men on horses he set out with a view to surprise them in the night. He divided his force, ordering one half to follow the Lieutenant, and the others to follow him,—meaning to make his approaches silently, and to fire upon the savages in their wigwams,—but having slipped down, he chanced to look behind him, and found that all his division had deserted him, and only five followed the Lieutenant; but nevertheless the Lieutenant when within reach ordered his men to fire, which they did; the fire was instantly returned from the wigwam, and the Lieutenant and one of his men were killed, and the others, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Henchman fled. The Indians were intimidated by the

attack and deserted their wigwams, and on the next day, Henchman brought off his dead without molestation.*

*At the Generall Court of his Majestie, held at Plymouth for the jurisdiction of New Plimouth the fourth of October, 1675.

Major James Cudworth was unanimously chosen and reestablished in the office of Ginnirall or commander in chief, to take the charge of our forces that are, or may be sent forth in the behalf of the colony against the enimies as occasion may require.

Serjeant Robert Barker to be his Lifenant of his particular company.

Capt. John Gorum to be captain of the other company, and Insign Jonathan Sparrow to be his Lifenant.

Lieft. John Brown, is appointed and impowered by the court to be Capt. of the guard at Mount Hope.

Mr Thomas Huskins was chosen commissary Ginnirall of the forces of this jurisdiction.

Ginnirall Cudworth, Mr Constant Southworth, Capt. Freeman, Mr Lathrop, and Mr ———, were appointed a committee in behalf of the country, to take an account of the charges arising by this present war.

It is ordered by the court that twentyfive men well provided with arms and ammunition be pressed to be, and lye in garrison at Mount Hope, and that the soulders that are there be forthwith released.

In reference unto such emergent charges that have fallen on our honoured Governor, the summer past, the court have settled and conferred on him the price of ten Indians of those savages lately transported out of the government. [All captured Indians were ordered to be transported. 178 were shipped on board Capt. Sprague for Cadiz.]

The proportion of the salaries allowed by the court to the commanders and common soulders which have been forth in the late expeditions out of this colony against the Indians, or may be for the future employed on the country occasions.

Imps.	To the Ginirall,	6s	a day.
	To a Capt.	5s	"
	To Capt. Matthew Fuller, as Surgeon Ginirall for the forces of this colony, and for other good service performed in the country's behalf against the enemy in the late expedition, or which may be done as future occasion may require, the court alloweth him.	4s	"
	To the Capt. of the guard at Mount Hope	4s	"
	To a Lieft.	4s	"
	To a Commissarie Ginnirall	4s	"
	To an Ensign	3s	"
	To a Sargent	2s 6	"
	To a Corporall	2s	"
	To a common Soulder	1s 6	"

Proceed-
ings of
the com-
missioners
of the con-
federated
colonies.

Hitherto the war with the Indians had not received the sanction of the commissioners of the confederated colonies, but each colony had acted on its own responsibility. So sudden and unexpected was the breaking out of the war, and so severely had the English been pressed in all quarters by their savage foes, that there had not in fact been time to form a plan for concerted operations. It had been

The rates allowed for the horses prest or employed in the expedition against the enemy at Mount Hope and places adjacent, viz. 5s for the use of every horse that hath been returned to the owner, within one month after the advance of the expedition, and 10s ye horse for all that are returned since the said month or shall be returned within twentyeight days after the date hereof; and 20s for every such horse or mare that shall not be returned within the said twenty-eight days, unless there shall be another horse instead thereof delivered within the said time.

The proportion of the soulders to be pressed out of each town of this jurisdiction to go as far as occasion may require.

To Mount Hope, to be subtracted out of them.		
Plymouth	15	2
Duxbrow	8	1
Sittuate	28	4
Sandwich	16	3
Taunton	20	3
Yarmouth	15	2
Barnstable	16	3
Marshfield	13	2
Rehoboth	15	2
Eastham	8	2
Bridgewater	8	1

It is ordered by the court that it shall and may be lawful to and for any of the commission officers and soulders in any of our townships, with the advice of their town council, if opportunitie serve, to consult with them, or without if the present exigency of an advantage against an enemy present, to prosecute the war against them, though it shall be without the respective townships, as if such officers had a particular commission thereunto.

That during the time of public danger, that every one that comes to the meeting on the Lord's day, bring his arms with him, and furnished with at least five charges of powder and shott, until further order shall be given, under penaltie of 2s for every such default, to be levied by distress by the constable, by order of any of the commission officers for the town's use.

That whosoever shall shoot off any gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game whatsoever, except at an Indian or a wolf, shall forfeit 5s for every such shott, until further libertie shall be given.—*Old Colony Records.*

a partisan war, and each community had defended their own firesides in the best manner they could.

The regular triennial meeting of the commissioners according to the new articles of confederation, was holden at Boston, September 9th, 1675.

Thomas Danforth and William Stoughton, were elected in Massachusetts.

Josias Winslow and Thomas Hinckley, in Plymouth.

John Winthrop and James Richards, in Connecticut.

Thomas Danforth of Massachusetts, was chosen President.

The Commissioners from Plymouth laid before the body a narrative, "shewing the manner of the beginning of the present war with the Indians of Mount Hope and Pocasset." *

* A brief narrative of the beginning and progress of the present trouble between us and the Indians, taking its rise in the colony of New Plymouth. Anno Domini, 1675.

'Not to look back further than the troubles that were between the colony of New Plymouth and Philip, sachem of Mount Hope in the year 1671, it may be remembered that the settlement and issue of that controversy, obtained and made principally by the mediation and interposed advice and council of the other two confederate colonies, who upon a careful enquiry and search into the grounds of that trouble, found that the said sachem's pretence of wrongs and injuries from that colony were groundless and false; and that he, (although first in arms,) was the peccant and offending party, and that Plymouth had just cause to take up arms against him; and it was then agreed that he should pay the colony a certain sum of money, in part of their damage and charge by him occasioned, and he then not only renewed his ancient covenant of friendship with them, but made himself and his people absolute subjects to our sovereign lord King Charles the Second, and to that his colony of New Plymouth; since which time we know not that the English of that or any other of the colonies, have been injurious to him or his, that might justly provoke them to take up arms against us. But sometime the last winter, the governor of Plymouth was informed by Sausaman, a faithful Indian, that the said Philip was undoubtedly endeavoring to raise new troubles, and was endeavoring to engage all the sachems round about in a war against us. Some of the English, also, that lived near the said sachem, communicated their fears and jealousies concurrent with what the Indian had informed; about a week after John Sau-

On receiving this document, all the Commissioners, acting in behalf of the several colonies, signed the following declaration of war.

saman had given his information, he was barbarously murdered by some Indians for his faithfulness (as we have cause to believe,) to the interest of God and the English. Sometime after Sausaman's death, Philip having heard that the governor of Plymouth had received some information against him, and purposed to send for him to appear at their next court that they might enquire into those reports, came down of his own accord to Plymouth, a little before their court in the beginning of March last, at which time, the council of that colony upon a large debate with him, had great reason to believe that the information against him might be in substance true, but not having full proof thereof, and hoping that the discovery of it so far would cause him to desist, they dismissed him friendly, giving him only to understand that if they hear further concerning that matter, they might see reason to demand his arms to be delivered up for their security, which was according to former agreement between him and them, and he engaged on their demand they should be surrendered unto them or their order. At that court we had many Indians in examination concerning the murder of John Sausaman, but had not then testimony in the case, but not long after an Indian appearing to testify, we apprehended three by him charged to be the murderers of Sausaman, and secured them to a trial at our next court holden in June, at which time a little before court, Philip began to keep his men in arms about him, and to gather strangers unto him, and to march about in arms towards the upper end of the neck on which he lived, and near to the English houses, who began thereby to be somewhat disquieted, but took as yet no further notice, but only set a military watch in the next towns, as Swansey and Rehoboth. Some hints we had that the Indians were in arms while our court was sitting, but we hoped it might arise from a guilty fear in Philip that we would send for him, and bring him to tryal with the other murderers, and that if he saw the court broken up, and he not sent for, the cloud might blow over; — and indeed our innocency made us very secure, and confident it would not have broken out into a war; — but no sooner was our court dissolved, but we had intelligence from Lieut. John Browne, of Swansey, that Philip and his men continued constantly in arms; many strange Indians from several places flocked into him, and that they sent away their wives to Narragansett, and were giving our people frequent alarms by drums and guns in the night, and invaded their passage towards Plymouth, and that their young Indians were earnest for a war.'

'On the 7th of June, Mr Benjamin Church being on Rhode Island, Weetanno, (Weetamore,) and some of her chief men told him that Philip intended a war speedily with the English, some of them saying that they would help him, and that he had already given them leave to kill Englishmen's cattle and rob their houses.

‘The present War owned by the Commissioners, at a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, held at Boston, Septem. 9th, 1675.’

‘We having received from the Commissioners of Plymouth a narrative shewing the rise and several steps of the proceeding of that colony as to the present war with

About the 14th and 15th of June, Mr James Browne went twice to Philip to persuade him to be quiet, but at both times found his men in arms, and Philip very high and not persuadable to peace.

‘On the 14th of June, our council wrote an amicable, friendly letter to Philip, therein shewing our dislike of his practices, and advising him to dismiss his strange Indians, and command his own men to fall quietly to their business, that our people might also be quiet, and not to suffer himself to be abused by reports concerning us, who intended him no wrong, nor hurt towards him, but Mr Browne could not obtain an answer from him.

On the 17th June, Mr Paine, of Rehoboth, and several others of the English, going unarmed to Mount Hope to seek their horses, at Philip’s request, the Indians came and presented their guns at them, and carried it very insolently, though no way provoked by them.

‘On the 18th or 19th, Job Winslow, his house was broken up and rifled by Philip’s men.’

‘June the 20th, being the Sabbath, the people at Swansea were alarmed by the Indians, two of our inhabitants burned out of their houses and their houses rifled, and the Indians were marching, as they judged, to assault the town, and therefore entreated speedy help from us. We, hereupon, the 21st of June, sent up some forces to relieve that town, and despatched more with speed.

‘On Wednesday, the 23d of June, a dozen more of their houses at Swansea were rifled.

‘On the 24th, Thomas Layton was slain at Fall river.

‘On the 25th of June, divers of the people at Swansea slain, and many houses burned, until which time, and for several days, though we had a considerable force there both of our own and of the Massachusetts, (to our grief and shame,) they took no revenge of the enemy. Thus slow were we, and unwilling to engage ourselves and neighbors in a war, having many insolencies almost intolerable, from them of whose hands we had deserved better.

JOSIAS WINSLOW,
THOMAS HINCKLEY.

‘The substance of what is here declared doth clearly and more particularly appear in the records and letters related unto, of the several dates above mentioned.’

the Indians, which had its beginning there, and its progress into the Massachusetts, by their insolence, outrages, murdering many persons, and burning their houses in sundry plantations in both colonies, and having duly considered the same, do declare that the said war doth appear to be both just and necessary ; in its first rise a defensive war, and therefore we do agree and conclude that it ought now to be jointly prosecuted by all the united colonies, and the charges thereof to be borne and paid as is agreed in the articles of confederation.

‘ The commissioners of the colonies having fully concurred in the righteousness of the present war with the barbarous natives, for the better management thereof, do agree and conclude that there be forthwith raised a thousand soldiers, whereof five hundred to be dragoons or troopers, with long arms, out of the several colonies, in such proportions as the articles of confederation do appoint.

The Massachusetts,	-	-	527
Plymouth,	-	-	158
Connecticut,	-	-	315
			<hr/> 1000

The commissioners, at a subsequent meeting, adopted the following declarations, and resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor.

Boston, October 2d, 1675.’

‘ The commissioners having already passed an order for the raising of one thousand soldiers in the several jurisdictions, for the prosecution of the present war. In pursuance of that conclusion, they do again recommend it to the governors and councils of the several jurisdictions, that with all due care and diligence, the said soldiers be not only raised, but also very well fitted and furnished for

the public service, and vigorously improved, as occasion shall be, in the pursuit and disrest of the enemy, which we judge best expedient for the security of the English plantations.'

'And for the better management of this affair, that each jurisdiction do nominate and commission one meet man to be commander in chief in the colony wherein he dwells, and as there shall be need for the annoyance of the enemy or the defence of the English plantations, that the said forces unite in part, or the whole, in which case they shall be under the command of him who is the commander in chief in that colony where the expedition is to be performed.'

'And for the encouragement of volunteers to go forth in pursuit of the enemy, in case the respective councils of the jurisdictions shall see cause to grant commissions for that end to meet persons, the commissioners do hereby order and declare that the plunder and spoil by them lawfully taken, whether goods or persons, being legally so adjudged and condemned, shall be to their own proper use and behoof, and that hereafter the Indians be allowed four coats for each man or boy above six years old, that they bring in of our enemy, being legally adjudged and condemned as above, and for women and girls above six years old, two coats apiece.'

The seat of war was now transferred from the country of the Nipmucks and the banks of Connecticut river, to Narragansett. Narragan-
sett the
seat of
the war.

Roger Williams, as has been before related, after his expulsion from Massachusetts, retired to Seekonk, afterwards Rehoboth, within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, and having been, in a friendly manner, advised to cross the river, he seated himself and his followers upon a neck of land between the mouths of the Pawtucket and Mosha-

suck rivers, which upon his intercession with Caunonicus, the acting sachem of the Narragansetts, was granted to him as a free gift. This grant comprised the territory which now forms the towns of Providence and North Providence. In 1624, he purchased of the sachem all the lands lying between Pawtucket and Pawtuxet rivers, containing nearly the whole of the county of Providence. By the good offices of Williams in the year 1638, William Coddington and his associates succeeded in purchasing from the Narragansetts the whole of the island of Aquedneck, (now Rhode Island,) where they founded a town on that part of the island which was opposite Mount Hope, which was called Portsmouth, and afterwards finding a noble and convenient harbor near the other end of the island, they founded another town, which became the most flourishing in the colony, which they called Newport. In 1643, Shaw-o-met was purchased by Gorton and several of his associates. This purchase was bounded north on the Providence purchase, and was to extend four and a half miles south, and twenty west, and included a considerable part of the present county of Kent. Here a town was erected, which was called Warwick, in honor of the earl of Warwick. Mount Hope, Pocasset, and Secconnet, now forming the county of Bristol, in Rhode Island, and part of the county of Newport, were within the limits of the Plymouth patent, and under the government of Philip. The domain of the Narragansetts had now become restricted to the limits of the present county of Washington in Rhode Island, the island of Canonicut, Block Island, a part of Long Island, and perhaps a small part of the present county of Kent. Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick, were the only settlements of any importance within the limits of the colony of Rhode Island. The people of these plantations had lived

in great harmony and friendship with the Narragansetts, and although the latter steadily resisted the introduction of the gospel, yet so great was their regard and affection for Mr Williams, that they had permitted him to preach there monthly.

They had been suspected of having contracted engagements with Philip, and measures had been taken to preserve peaceable relations, as has been before related.

Suspicion was again aroused, and several of the Narragansett sachems renewed their engagements in writing, as appears by the following instrument, executed at Boston.

Narragansetts again suspected.

‘ BOSTON, in New England, October 18th, 1675.

‘ Whereas, for the continuation of a firm peace and settled friendship between the United Colonies in New England and the Narragansett Indians, on the 15th of July last, there were covenants and articles of agreements made and concluded between the messengers sent and improved by the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies on the one party, and the sachems of the said Narragansett Indians on the other party, as will more fully appear, and are contained in an instrument by them jointly signed and sealed, reference thereunto being had. Now this witnesseth that we whose names are here underwritten, being fully empowered by the sachems over the abovesaid Indians, to treat with the commissioners of the abovesaid united colonies, at Boston, and to act and conclude all matters and things appertaining to the confirmation of a firm and settled peace between the abovesaid parties, we do by these presents, fully, clearly, and absolutely ratify and confirm all the abovesaid articles of agreement, hereby declaring our hearty desire and firm resolution to continue in a sure and constant peace with the English ; and we do fully and absolutely engage ourselves in behalf

Renew their promises to the English.

of the sachems of the abovementioned Indians, to perform and fulfil the said articles and everything therein mentioned and contained, according to the true intent and meaning thereof.'

'And whereas, a considerable number of people, both men, women, and children, appertaining to these Indians, who have been in actual hostility against the English, are now fled to the Narragansett's country; and are under the custody of the said sachems there, after a full and long conference had concerning that matter, we do, in the name and by the power to us given and betruſted, in the behalf of the sachems of the abovesaid country, fully and absolutely covenant and promise to and with the abovenamed commissioners, at or before the 28th day of this instant month of October, to deliver or cause to be delivered, all and everyone of the said Indians, whether belonging unto Philip, the Pocasset Squaw, or the Saconet Indians, Quabaug, Hadley, or any other sachems or people that have been or are in hostility with the English, or any of their allies or abettors; and these we promise and covenant to deliver at Boston, to the governor and council, there, by them to be disposed in the behalf of, and for the best security and peace of the United Colonies.'

Sealed and delivered in presence
of us—

RICHARD SMITH,

JAMES BROWNE,

SAMUEL GORTON, Jr, Interpre-
ters;

JOHN NOWHENETT'S +

Indian Interpreter.

QUANANCHETT'S + mark,

Sachem in behalf of himself and Caunonicus, and the old Queen, and Pomham, and Quaunapeen, and a (seal)

MANATANNOO, Councillor,

his + mark,

and Caunonicus, in his behalf, (seal)

AHANMANPOWETT, + mark,

Councillor, and his (seal)

CORNMAN, Chief Councillor to Ninne-
grett, in his behalf, and a (seal)

Notwithstanding this attempt to place the peace with the Narragansetts on a firmer foundation by taking additional security, many circumstances shortly after conspired to convince the English that they were insincere in their professions of friendship, and secretly cherished hostile designs. Regardless of their promises, they continued to offer excuses for procrastinating the delivery of the hostile Indians, and the English were convinced that their real object was to gain time so that they might the better prepare themselves for war. It was well known that they had supplied the enemy with provisions. Their young men were strongly suspected of having been engaged in the fights against the English, as many of them had returned home wounded.

Evade the
surrender
of the
hostile
Indians.

It was also suspected that many who had been engaged in the fights on Connecticut river were harbored in the Narragansett fort.

The English were perfectly aware that if the Narragansetts were really hostile, the number of their warriors was so great, that by a junction with their declared enemies they would be able to destroy all the detached settlements, and even jeopardise the existence of their colonies.

Fears of
the Eng-
lish.

Connecticut saw the danger and adopted vigorous measures of defence.—Each county was required to raise sixty dragoons complete in arms, with horses and ammunition. Captain Avery was appointed to the command of forty English from the towns of New London, Stonington, and Lyme, and he was authorised to engage the Pequots. Captain John Mason commanded another company of twenty English besides Mohegans. The dragoons were placed under the command of Major Treat. All the towns capable of defence were fortified, and it was recommended to the inhabitants of the others to withdraw to places of security.

Connecti-
cut adopts
vigorous
measures.

Meeting of
the com-
missioners
of the
Unite
Colonies,
Nov. 2.

Resolve to
send an
army into
the Narra-
gansetts.

Declara-
tion of the
causes of
war.

One thou-
sand sol-
diers or-

On the 2d of November, the commissioners held another meeting at Boston. All attended except Mr Richards of Connecticut, whose place was supplied by Wait Winthrop. Their deliberations were marked with gloom and anxiety, but their firmness was equal to the crisis. They were aware of the difficulties which would, and the disasters which might attend a winter campaign, and they were equally aware of the danger of delay, and that unless the power of the Narragansetts was broken by a decisive blow, they would be abroad in the spring ready for war, and in great force. They resolved to anticipate them by sending an expedition into their country to attack them in their stronghold. They then signed the manifesto or declaration of the causes of the war against the Narragansetts, and adopted the measures necessary to render the expedition effectual.

‘ At a meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies by adjournment, in Boston, November 2d, 1675.

‘ Forasmuch as the Narragansett Indians are deeply accessory in the present bloody outrages of the barbarous natives that are in open hostility with the English, this appearing by their harboring the actors thereof ;— relieving and succoring their women and children and wounded men, and detaining them in their custody, notwithstanding the covenant made by their sachems to deliver them to the English, and as is credibly reported, they have killed and taken away many cattle from the English their neighbors, and did for some days seize and keep under a strong guard Mr Smith’s house and family, and at the news of the sad and lamentable mischief that the Indians did unto the English at or near Hadley, did in a very reproachful and blasphemous manner rejoice thereat.

‘ The commissioners do agree and determine that besides the number of soldiers formerly agreed upon to be

raised and to be in constant readiness for the use of the country, there shall be one thousand more raised and furnished with arms and provisions of all sorts, to be at one hour's warning for the public service; the said soldiers to be raised in like proportions in each colony as the former were.—Also they do agree that A. B. shall be commander in chief over the said soldiers, and that the said A. B. shall with the said soldiers march into the Narragansett's country, and in case they be not prevented by the Narragansett sachems' actual performance of their covenants made with the commissioners, by delivering up those of our enemies that are in their custody, as also making reparation for all damages sustained by their neglect hitherto, together with security for their further fidelity, then to endeavor the compelling of them thereunto by the best means they may or can, or to proceed against them as our enemies.

'THOMAS DANFORTH, President,
'WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
'JOSIAS WINSLOW,
'THOMAS HINCKLEY,
'JOHN WINTHROP,
'WAIT WINTHROP.'

The principal offence of the Narragansetts, as set forth in this declaration, was their evasion and delay in surrendering the women, children, and wounded men, of the hostile Indians, according to their stipulation. Although that stipulation was cowardly and cruel, yet their refusal vindicates their humanity. If it subjects them to just reprehension for violating solemn promises, certainly it was not a sufficient cause for waging a vindictive war against them.

The Narragansetts are not positively charged with doing injury to the property of the English, although a report that they had so done, is alluded to. Mr Smith and his

family were restrained of their liberty for a few days, but no other injury appears to have been done to them. The expressions of joy with which they received the account of the disasters of the English at Hadley, certainly furnish no evidence of positive hostility, and only indicate a deeper sympathy for the Indians than for the English. Had the commissioners met this subject by placing their vindication on the ground of strong suspicion, for which there was undoubtedly much cause, they could easily have shown the existence of a strong moral necessity (apparent at least) for breaking the power of the Narragansetts; for the existence of the English race was threatened, and self-preservation is a plausible excuse, at least, for an apparent wrong. Although no hostile acts may have been committed, nations have a moral right to anticipate enemies who design their destruction, by destroying them. If the English were morally convinced that a union would be effected between the Narragansetts and their enemies, which if not prevented would terminate in their destruction, charity might find a sufficient excuse for their conduct in the magnitude of the danger.

Gov. Winslow appointed commander in chief.

The commissioners unanimously 'nominated and empowered the honorable Josias Winslow,' one of their body, 'and governor of Plymouth colony, *commander in chief over the united forces now to be raised.*'

Second in command to be from Connecticut.

They agreed that the second in command should be appointed by the general court of Connecticut, while the forces were in that colony, (Narragansett was considered at that time as belonging to Connecticut.)

Places of rendezvous.

The Connecticut soldiers were directed to rendezvous at Norwich, Stonington, and New London, and those of Massachusetts and Plymouth at Rehoboth, Providence, and Warwick. General Winslow was to assume the command on the tenth of December.

They recommended to the several general courts of the united colonies to appoint the second day of December 'to be observed and kept as a solemn day of prayer and humiliation, to supplicate the lord's pardoning mercy and compassion towards his poor people, and for success in the endeavors for the repelling the rage of the enemy.'

A general
fast re-
commend-
ed.

They also recommended to the several general courts or councils of the united colonies, 'that effectual care be taken that the soldiers sent on this expedition be men of strength, courage, and activity;—their arms well fixed and fit for service;—that their clothing in all respects be strong and warm, suitable for the season.—That they have provisions in their knapsacks for a week's march from their rendezvous, and supply in a magazine appointed for a more general service.'

Recom-
menda-
tions to
the sever-
al general
courts.

'Also that there be a meet number of able ministers and chirurgeons provided and appointed for the expedition.'

On the 19th of November, the commissioners ordered that provisions and ammunition sufficient for two months should be provided and sent to the place of rendezvous; 'and that each colony take care for the supply of their own soldiers; 'and that special care and respect be had to the extremity of winter season, that so there may none perish for want of warm clothing or such other comforts as shall be necessary.'*

* Before the Narragansett expedition, articles of war were agreed upon by the general court (of Massachusetts) and were as follows.

'Laws and ordinances of war passed by the general court of Massachusetts for the better regulating their forces, and keeping their soldiers to their duty, and to prevent profaneness, that iniquity may be kept out of the land.'

'1. Let no man presume to blaspheme the holy and blessed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, upon pain to have his tongue bored with a hot iron.

'2. Unlawful oaths and execrations, and scandalous acts in derogation of

Connecticut always zealous and public-spirited, furnished more than her proportion, (the friendly Indians

God's honor, shall be punished with loss of pay and other punishments at discretion.

' 3. All those who often and wilfully absent themselves from the public worship of God, and prayers, shall be proceeded against at discretion.

' 4. Whosoever shall be convicted to do his duty negligently and carelessly, shall be punished at discretion.

' 5. No person shall presume to quarrel with his superior officer upon pain of cashiering and arbitrary punishment; nor to strike any such upon pain of death.

' 6. No commander or soldier shall depart from his charge or captain without license upon pain of death.

' 7. Every private soldier, upon pain of imprisonment, shall keep silence when the army is to take lodging, or when it is marching, or in battle, so as the officers may be heard, and their commands executed.

' 8. No man shall resist, draw, lift, offer to draw or lift his weapon against his officer, correcting him orderly for his offence, upon pain of death.

' 9. No man shall resist the provost marshal or any other officer in the executing his office, upon pain of death.

' 10. No man shall utter any words of sedition or mutiny, upon pain of death.

' 11. They that shall hear mutinous speeches and not acquaint their commander with them, shall be punished with some grievous punishment.

' 12. Drunkenness in an officer shall be punished with loss of place, and in a private foot soldier with such punishment as a court marshal shall think fit.

' 13. Rapes, ravishments, and unnatural abuses, and adultery, shall be punished with death.

' 14. Fornication and other dissolute lasciviousness shall be punished with discretion according to the quality of the offence.

' 15. Theft or robbery shall be punished with restitution, and otherwise with discretion.

' 16. Murder shall be expiated with the death of the murderer.

' 17. All soldiers coming to their colors to watch, or be exercised, or to service, shall come completely armed, and them fixed, upon pain of punishment.

' 18. If any shall negligently lose, or sinfully play away their arms at dice or cards, or otherwise, they shall be kept as pioneers or scavengers till they furnish themselves with as good arms.

' 19. None shall presume to spoil, sell, or carry away, any ammunition committed unto him, upon pain of death.

' 20. No soldier shall outstay his post, without a certificate of the occasion under the hand of a magistrate, upon pain of losing his pay.'

being included,) having sent into the field three hundred English soldiers, and one hundred and fifty Moheagans and Pequod Indians. The army was to assemble by the tenth of December.

The forces of Massachusetts were divided into six companies under the command of Captains Mosely, Gardiner, Davenport, Oliver, Johnson, and Major Appleton, who under the commander in chief, commanded them.

The forces of Connecticut were divided into five companies, which were commanded by Major Treat, who had under him Captains Siely, Gallop, Mason, Watts, and Marshall.

The Plymouth forces were divided into two companies, commanded by Major William Bradford as chief, and Captain Gorham. At the particular solicitation of the commander in chief, Captain Church accompanied him as a volunteer, having refused a command.

On the 9th of December, (1675) Appleton marched with the forces of Massachusetts, then consisting of four hundred and sixtyfive foot, and a company of horse under the command of Captain Prentice, from Dedham, to Woodcock's in Rehoboth, a well known place of rendezvous, twentyseven miles from Boston.

Army
marches
to Narragansett.

On the next day they reached Seekonk, where Captain Mosely and his company embarked, and the remainder crossed the river to Providence. Church was despatched to Major Smith's garrison in Narragansett, for the purpose of providing quarters, where he arrived safely.

The forces of Massachusetts and Plymouth having effected a junction on the twelfth of December, they cross-

'By grievous punishment is meant disgraceingly cashiering, the strapado, or riding the wooden horse to fetch blood.

'Arbitrary punishment, or punishment at discretion, is meant not to extend to life nor limb.'

ed the Patuxet river, and after a cold and tedious march through the country of Pomham, joined Mosely at Mr Smith's in Wickford.

Smith had long been a resident in the country of the Narragansetts, and had almost monopolized the trade of the nation. His house was selected for head-quarters. The enterprising spirit of Church could never rest. He proposed to some young men to go out on a scout, and succeeded in capturing eighteen of the enemy before the arrival of Gen. Winslow.

Mosely had the good fortune to surprise thirtysix Indians, amongst whom was one of the name of Peter, who being disgusted with his sachem, offered to guide the English to the Narragansett fort.

On the fourteenth, a scouting party was despatched under sergeant Bennet with orders to reconnoitre. They killed one man and one woman, and brought in four prisoners.

Gen. Winslow leaving a sufficient garrison, marched into the Indian territory with the greater part of his force, burnt one hundred and fifty wigwams, killed seven, and captured nine Indians.

On the next day Stone-wall John came to head-quarters as a messenger from the sachems pretending that they were desirous of peace ; but he boasted of their strength, and taunted the English by insinuating that fear had deprived them of all inclination for fighting.

A sergeant and some men belonging to Oliver and Gardner's companies, were attacked by some of the Indians who had attended John to head-quarters ; and the sergeant and one of Gardiner's and two of Oliver's men were killed. The companies were quartered apart, but this accident induced the English to concentrate themselves.

Major Bradford, Mosely, and Gardiner, with their companies, were despatched for the purpose of escorting Major Appleton to the general quarters. A few Indians lurking under a stone wall, and to whom Mosely was well known, aimed more than twenty guns at him, but the companies charging, dispersed them with ease, killing one.

On the next day Prentice was despatched with his company of horse to Bull's house at Pettysquamscot, which had been appointed as the rendezvous of the Connecticut troops. He found the house burnt to the ground, the Indians having attacked it and killed ten men and five women and children, two only escaping.

Bull's
house
burnt.

On the next day the Connecticut troops arrived, killing five or six Indians on their march, and capturing as many more.

The forces of Massachusetts and Plymouth, instantly marched to Pettysquamscot and joined those of Connecticut. It was now the eighteenth of December; a deep snow lay on the ground; the weather was cold and stormy; the house in which they were to have been quartered was burnt to the ground, and they endured the inclemency of the night without shelter. At the dawn of the day, they commenced their march over a trackless snow into which they sunk above their ancles at every step. Having marched about fifteen miles through the country of the old Queen, or Sunke Squaw of Narragansett, they reached the margin of the swamp, within which was situated the great stronghold of the Narragansetts. Their guide was faithful, and they were now within reach of the main body of their enemies.

Great
swamp
fight at
Narragan-
sett.

The vanguard was led by Capt. Mosely and Capt. Davenport of Massachusetts, next followed the remainder of the Massachusetts forces. Gen. Winslow and the Plymouth forces were in the centre, and Church accompanied the General. The Connecticut forces were in the rear.

Before the columns were displayed, the firing commenced. Some Indians being posted in the swamp near the upland were discovered by those who were in the van, and they fired ; the fire was instantly returned, and the whole body of the English without waiting for the word of command, rushed impetuously into the swamp in great disorder, the officers and the men being intermixed, and pressing forward with a courage and an ardor which was not tempered with discretion, or regulated by discipline. They drove the Indians before them until they reached the fort.

This fortress was situated on a rising ground or island, in the midst of the swamp, and covered an area of five or six acres. It was encircled with a high palisade, and the palisade was encompassed with a thick and almost impenetrable hedge. It was approached by one avenue, and that was over a bridge formed of a gigantic tree, which was thrown over deep water, and by which but one person could pass at once ; and which was so situated that all who passed in that direction were exposed to imminent danger. Fortunately on the side which was first approached by the English, the enclosure was completed by the body of a fallen tree, which rose to the height of five feet as it lay on the ground ; directly against this tree a strong log house had been erected, which answered the purpose of a block house, and from which all assailants could be attacked to a disadvantage. On the left of this entrance was a flanker. This was the only part of the enclosure which could be gained, as the log could be surmounted without much difficulty. The entrance was attempted by a part of the Massachusetts force, led by the gallant Capt. Johnson, who was shot dead by a fire from the log house, and under the same deadly fire many of his men fell. Capt. Davenport more successful but equally unfortunate, entered the enclosure, but was killed with several of his men

by a fire at the same place. So deadly was this fire that the remainder of the English retreated without the enclosure, and throwing themselves down with their faces to the ground, the bullets passed over them. Two companies which immediately followed, not perceiving the prodigious slaughter, lost many men before they were aware of the extent of this danger, and they also were compelled to retreat. At last, animated by the exhortations and exertions of Gen. Winslow and Major Appleton, the soldiers were rallied; two other companies were brought up to their support; encouraging each other, and stimulated by an exclamation from one of the commanders that the enemy ran, they entered a second time in a mass, and making a desperate assault, drove the Indians from the flanker which they immediately occupied, and obtained a partial shelter from the fire which was continually poured from the log house, and their numbers constantly augmenting, they gradually drove the enemy out of all their posts to the upper part of the enclosure, the whole ground being covered with their bodies.

Mr Church, impatient of inaction, had solicited the permission of the general to engage, which was no sooner obtained, than, followed by thirty men, he penetrated through every obstacle, and entered the fort; the first sight which struck his eyes were the bleeding bodies of the gallant captains who had fallen; while advancing to Capt. Gardner of Salem, whom he descried in the midst of the fight, he saw the blood suddenly stream down his face, and before he fell to the ground he was a dead man. Church ascertained that the ball had penetrated his head, from the side next the upland, and immediately despatched a messenger to Gen. Winslow to prevent the firing in that quarter, as the bravest men were as much exposed to the balls of the English without the fort, as they were to those

of the enemy within. Church and his company then left the fort to attack some of the Indians in the swamp, who were firing on the English in the fort. Finding the bloody track on which they had retreated, he and his party pursued it. While observing the conduct of one of the Indians of whom they were in pursuit, and who, by placing his gun across his breast, indicated a desire for a parley, (and who was unfortunately killed after the order had been given to cease from firing,) a loud shout was heard from the rear; Church then discovered that a large party of the enemy had taken a position between his party and the fort;—fearful that his own party might be endangered by a fire from the fort, he was anxious that his situation should be known by those within. A sergeant who stood upon the log discovered the danger, and made it known. The Indians who were watching the movements in the fort, had not observed Church and his party, but creeping to the log, lay flat on the ground, waiting a favorable opportunity to fire: Church saw their design, and turned it to his own advantage; he directed his men to pour in their fire upon the rear of the Indians, at the moment they should rise to fire upon the English who were in the fort; the order was literally obeyed; the Indians were panic struck at receiving a heavy and well directed fire from an unexpected quarter, which laid fourteen of their warriors dead on the spot, and they fled in every direction; in the amazement of the moment, some of them mounting the log, ran within the enclosure, and sheltered themselves in a hovel which was raised on stilts; Church's party immediately charged and entered; he directed them to overturn the hovel;—when they were approaching, he discovered an Indian aiming through a hole at him; regardless, however, of his own danger, he persisted in encouraging his men, and continued to advance until he was struck at the same in-

stant with three bullets, one of which gave him a severe wound on the thigh, another a slight flesh wound, and he was preserved from being injured by the third by a thick pair of woollen mittens which were doubled in his pocket; undismayed by the peril of his situation, he remained on his legs and continued the fight: becoming unable to move, his men were anxious to remove him from the danger, but he forbade them, and directed them to persist in their attempt on the hovel, which was now less dangerous, as the Indians had discharged their guns, but the savages had recourse to their arrows; the Englishman who supported Church was pierced through the arm, and the party discouraged by the helplessness of their commander, began to retire.

In the meantime the battle continued to rage throughout the enclosure. The Connecticut soldiers who were in the rear, unconscious of the danger of the pass over the tree, fearlessly entered and suffered severely by the fire from the block-house, but being boldly led to the charge by Major Treat, they persisted in their efforts with great intrepidity, and at length gained the interior.

This desperate and bloody fight had now continued three hours, during which the English gradually continued to gain ground. At length the order was given to set fire to the wigwams, which were five or six hundred in number; against this horrible order, Church remonstrated, and being led to the general, he represented 'that the wigwams were impenetrable to musket balls, being all lined with baskets and tubs of grain and other provisions sufficient to supply the whole army until Spring, that every wounded man would be sheltered, who otherwise would perish in the storm and cold, that he knew the Plymouth forces had not so much as one biscuit left, for he had seen the last dealt out.' The General listened to

the representations of Church, and rode towards the fort, but one of the Captains seizing his bridle, said to him, 'that his life was worth more than a hundred of theirs, and he should not expose himself.' The General informed him of his conversation with Church, expressing at the same time an opinion that it was most advisable to occupy the fort. The captain abused Church with much foul language, and threatened to shoot the General's horse if he advanced. One of the surgeons was singularly savage and insolent in his language and deportment. Remonstrating with the general against the occupation of the fort, he said that 'if the wounded were not removed that night, it would be impossible to effect it, as the wounds would become so stiff and painful that they could not be moved,' and, turning to Church, the surviving hero of the fight, whose blood was then streaming from his wounds, impudently told him 'that if he gave such advice, he should bleed to death like a dog, before he would endeavor to staunch his blood.' The General, suffering himself to be overcome by the insolence and the fears of those about him, did not revoke this rash and cruel order.

At this time the scene was horrible to behold. The fight was still continued with unabated fury; the yells and shouts of the savages were mingled with the roar of musketry, the crackling of fire, and the screams and wailings of the women, children, and old men, who were roasting in the wigwams, for if they escaped for a moment from their burning shelters, they were driven back by the muskets. While the flames were careering overhead, the smoke rolling off in dusky masses, and mingling with the thick dense atmosphere, the constant precursor of a snow storm, imparted a yet deeper gloom to the darkness which pervaded the huge and dreary swamp. The whole enclosure presented a horrible scene of havoc, blood, carnage,

and death. Quarter was neither asked nor received ; as the English fell they were borne away by their companions, and the ground cleared for the combatants who desperately continued the fight, and contested every inch. There were seldom more than three or four hundred at once in the fort, yet as the way was opened for more, they all in their turn came up, and participated in the toil, the danger, and the glory. The dead bodies of the Indians continued to encumber the ground, and could not be removed. At length those who had escaped the slaughter were driven into the swamp, and the English remained masters of the fort. The provisions and corn were nearly all consumed in the fire. Three hundred Indian warriors are supposed to have been killed, and seven hundred were wounded ; many of them being exposed to the inclemency of the weather during the horrible night which succeeded this horrible fight, perished miserably in the snow. The number of the women, children, and old men, who were burnt in the wigwams could not be estimated ; but dearly did the English purchase the victory. Capt. Davenport,* Capt. Gardner, and Capt. Johnson, three of the six Captains of Massachusetts, were killed, and Lieutenant Upham mortally wounded. Connecticut was still more unfortunate : of five Captains, Gallop, Siely, and Marshall, were killed, and Capt. Mason was mortally wounded. Capt. Gorham of the Plymouth forces, was seized with a fever, and died while on the expedition. Gen. Winslow, Major Appleton, and Captains Mosely and Oliver, of Massachusetts, Major Treat and Capt. Watts, of Connecticut, and Major Bradford of Plymouth, were all the officers of a grade equal to that of Captain, who escaped ; Church was a

* Son of Capt. Richard Davenport, distinguished in the Pequot war forty years before.

volunteer. All the Captains led their men into the fight, and continued at their head until they fell. The fall of so many on ordinary occasions, would have dispirited the soldiers; but instead of quailing, they seemed to have acquired a stern, energetic, and bloody resolution to revenge their deaths by the sacrifice of hecatombs of savage victims to their manes. Amongst those who were particularly distinguished for intrepid conduct, was the Chaplain, Samuel Nowel. The whole army, officers and privates, fought with the most desperate courage. The English lost eighty killed and one hundred and fifty wounded.†

The English retreat from the Narragansett fort.

Although the English had gained the fort, their disasters were far from being terminated. They judged it untenable, and whether dispirited by the loss of so many valiant captains, they were fearful of an attack from the Indians, who were still near them in the swamp, and who, notwithstanding their great loss, exceeded them in numbers; or whether the commander apprehended that he might be besieged much to his disadvantage, the weather being extremely inclement, and he being destitute of provisions, and insulated in the midst of a large swamp, in which he might be shut up by a deep snow; or whether other motives influenced him, he was induced to take the extraordinary resolution of retreating immediately to his quarters, at the distance of sixteen miles, and to convey the

† Of Major Appleton's company, killed and wounded,	25
Captain Mosely,	19
Captain Oliver,	15
Captain Gardner,	18
Captain Johnson,	14
Captain Davenport,	19
New Haven Company,	20
Captain Siely,	20
Captain Watts,	17
Captain Marshall,	14
Plymouth Companies,	20

wounded and the dead through the snow. After burning all that remained in the fort, he set forth on this cold and stormy night. On this perilous march many of the wounded died by the way, with their wounds undressed: exhausted by the loss of blood, they were unable to endure the cold and the fatigue of the march.

General Winslow at length reached his quarters at Wickford. Four hundred of his soldiers, besides the wounded, were unfit for duty, many of them were frost-bitten. Fortunately the Indians did not attack them. Had not the fears of the sachems prevailed over the ardor of the young men, this victorious army might have been annihilated in the swamp. In their quarters, new calamities overtook them. The vessels containing their provisions and supplies were frozen in, at the harbor of Cape Cod. The snow was so deep on the day succeeding the fight, that the ways became impassable. Almost in a state of starvation, few were the comforts, and miserable was the condition of this unfortunate though victorious army, who, nevertheless, endured their privations with submissive patience.

Reach
their quar-
ters at
Wickford:

Such was the result of the great Narragansett swamp fight. The suddenness of the retreat rendered the honors of the victory equivocal, but the consequences of victory followed; the Narragansetts never recovered from the effects of this terrible disaster; they, however, re-occupied the ruined fort on the day after the fight. If treachery was actually designed, the crime was sufficiently expiated by this horrible infliction.

The English troops remained in close quarters for some time, and made no attempt on the enemy. The depth of the snow rendered the march of infantry impracticable. The cavalry under the command of Capt. Prentice, made an incursion into Pomham's country, and burnt nearly an

Captain
Prentice
makes an
incursion
into Pom-
ham's
country.

hundred wigwams, but discovered no Indians ; the vigilance of the horse, who were constantly engaged in exploring the country, prevented the Indians from burning the English houses and killing cattle. Prentice's force also discovered large quantities of corn and beans, which had been concealed in the ground, and which was a welcome supply to the almost famished English.

Attempts
at peace.

Some attempts were made to renew the peace, to which the aged Indians were much inclined. A squaw who had been captured was released, engaging to bear to her countrymen a proffer of peace from the English, on the sole condition that the Narragansetts would surrender all Philip's followers. A messenger soon after came to the English quarters with the thanks of the sachems for the offer, but also with bitter complaints against the conduct of the English for attacking them without notice ; to him was communicated the particular terms on which peace might be made. Soon after, two messengers came from the Narragansetts to confer, (as they pretended,) on this subject. They imputed the blame of the war to Canonchet, who had made them believe that by the former treaty they were not obliged to surrender Philip's followers, until Canonchet's brother, who was detained as a hostage at Hartford, had been released. This, however, was only a pretence on the part of Canonchet, for he well understood the terms of the treaty.

To show their peaceable intentions, they sent in an English child, which had been taken at Warwick. The messengers who brought the child were acquainted with the precise terms on which peace might be made. Shortly after, a messenger arrived from Ninigret, the old sachem, bringing a letter from Mr Stanton the interpreter, by which they were informed that Ninigret cherished a sincere and anxious desire for peace, and that he had ever been the true friend of the English.

The Narragansetts were now reduced to great straits. The price of a pint of corn was two shillings; yet their proffers of peace were made only for the purpose of gaining time to enable them to escape from the country. Canonchet and Punnoquin, two powerful young sachems, were determined to continue the war as long as a man remained.

On the 10th of January, the garrison was reinforced from Boston; this reinforcement marched nearly the whole distance in a snow storm. The soldiers who had been previously wounded in the swamp fight, had been sent to Rhode Island, where they were kindly received by all the people, excepting the quakers, who would entertain them only by compulsion.

An Indian was discovered in a barn, and was instantly put to death, being supposed to be a Wampanoag.

On the 12th of January, another message was received from Caunonicus, desiring the delay of a month to adjust the terms of a treaty of peace. General Winslow was then convinced that Caunonicus was not sincere in his desire of peace; and vexed at the repeated failures of his attempts, he determined to renew hostile operations, and not to suffer himself to be amused with any more propositions.

About this time, one Joshua Tift an Englishman, who had abandoned his countrymen and deserted to the Indians while on a marauding party, was captured by Captain Fenner of Providence. Tift had lived for some time with the Narragansetts, and had married an Indian woman, conforming himself in all respects to their habits, and renouncing the privileges of his English birth. After confessing that he had supplied the Indians with powder, and had fought on their side in the fort, he was instantly condemned to death, hung and quartered.

Execu-
tion of
Tift.

This was the only instance in New England of an Englishman's proving a renegado. Tift was however a stupid and ferocious man, uneducated either in learning or religion.

Exploit of
two of
Prentice's
troopers.

Captain Prentice's troop being out on the 21st of January, encountered a party of the enemy and killed two and captured nine. Two of the troopers being together, but apart from the company, fell in with two Indians. One of the troopers of the name of Dodge, a Salem man, pursued one, and being better mounted than his companion left him behind, who, after discharging his pistol without effect, was assaulted by the other Indian and thrown from his horse, and was in great danger of being killed, as in their scuffle on the ground the Indian was uppermost. Dodge by chance saw the danger of his companion, and instantly ran to his assistance, killed the Indian with whom he was struggling, and then pursued the other and killed him also.

Narragansetts fly to the Nipmuck country and are pursued.

Governor Winslow having marched for the swamp where the Narragansetts were posted, about twenty miles distant from his garrison, the main body of the Indians fled towards the Nipmuck country, (January 27) and on their way they despoiled Mr Carpenter of Warwick, of two hundred sheep, and fifty cattle, which was a seasonable supply to them as they were nearly starved. In this affair two of Carpenter's household were killed, the Indians losing one. As soon as the English were informed of their flight, they commenced a close pursuit, and at one time coming up with their rear, they attacked them so vigorously and successfully, that they killed and captured seventy, but could not succeed in bringing the main body to an engagement; whenever they were assailed, the Indians dispersed singly into the swamps which abounded on their route, and it was a vain effort to pursue them.

In this pursuit, Church, although he could not mount his horse without assistance, accompanied Governor Winslow.

In one of the affairs, a friendly Moheagan captured one of Philip's Indians and brought him before the general. Some of the general's attendants proposed that he should be tortured in order to elicit a discovery of the haunts of his countrymen; against this proposition, Church vehemently remonstrated, and this barbarous proceeding was prevented, but the captive was given up to the Moheagan, who was permitted to put him to death. Desirous to avoid the scene, Church withdrew. The Moheagan striking at his victim with his tomahawk, missed his blow, and the weapon escaped from his hand; the prisoner broke from his keepers, and ran directly upon Church, who was standing amongst the baggage horses. In the impulse of the moment Church seized him, but the Indian being nearly naked, eluded his grasp and ran on; although Church was much disabled by his wounds he pursued, and the Indian stumbling, fell to the ground;—Church seized him again, and again the Indian escaped still pursued by Church, who at length seized him by his hair and held him fast. At this time they were at some distance from the others, and a deadly struggle commenced. The Indian was stout and athletic, and Church was weakened by his wounds, yet his indomitable spirit enabled him to maintain the contest with some equality. The ice began to crack, and steps were heard, both were uncertain whether of friend or foe. It was the Moheagan, but it was now so dark that the combatants could not be discriminated; the Moheagan ascertaining his victim by his nakedness, drove his tomahawk into his brains, and relieved Church from his perilous situation.

Personal
rencontre
of Church
with an
Indian.

English
return to
Boston.

The English continued a desultory pursuit until their enemies were driven into the woods between Marlborough and Brookfield, and then having consumed their provisions and forage, they were compelled early in February to return to Boston, leaving the feeble settlements in the Nipmuck country, which again became the theatre of war, the defenceless prey of the savages, maddened as they were by their losses and sufferings.

Smith's
house in
Narragan-
sett burnt.

Seventy men had been placed in garrison at Smith's house in the Narragansett country, but the government of Massachusetts refusing to maintain it, it was abandoned, and afterwards with all the other English houses in that country burnt by the Indians. The Narragansetts having been driven as far as the Watchuset hills,* had joined themselves to the Nipmucks and Nashuas; these soon separated into two great bodies, one of which directed their course towards the Plymouth jurisdiction, and the other to the Merrimack.

Lancaster
attacked
and burnt.

On the 10th of February, the last body under the command of Sagamore Sam, made an attack on Lancaster, then containing about fifty families, and burnt all the houses which were not defended by garrisons. The house of Mr Rowlandson the minister which was garrisoned, was attacked and burnt.

The persons in the house were reduced to the horrid alternative of being burnt alive, or of becoming the prisoners of savages. The house contained fortytwo persons, one half of whom were women and children, and amongst them was the wife of Mr Rowlandson and all his children. The men were all killed, either while defending themselves, or in their attempt to escape. Mr Rowlandson himself, was absent at Boston soliciting aid. Captain

* In Princeton.

Wadsworth who was at Marlborough with forty men, instantly marched to succor Lancaster. He drove off the Indians, but the place being supposed to be indefensible, was abandoned. The prisoners received marks of uncommon kindness from their captors, which was the more surprising as it was contrary to their usages, and could hardly have been expected after the horrible slaughter at Narragansett.*

In the early part of this year, the government of Massachusetts engaged two friendly Indians to act as spies amongst the Nipmucks and Narragansetts. They mingled with the hostile Indians, exciting little suspicion. One of them whose name was James, made an ample and faithful report to his employers. At first they were viewed with some jealousy, but being protected by Moneco or one eyed John, with whom they had served in former wars against the Mohawks, it subsided. So unsuspecting was John, that he even intimated to the spies the design of attacking Lancaster, and informed them that he was encouraged by some Frenchmen who were then at Pe-comptuck, (Deerfield). The enemy were plentifully supplied with provisions, chiefly of pork and venison.

The government of Massachusetts sends out two Indian spies.

On the eighth of February 1676, the commissioners of the colonies again met at Boston, and the following was the result of their deliberations.

Proceedings of the commissioners.

* In this attack, Jonas Fairbanks, Joshua Fairbanks, Richard Wheeler, Ephraim Sawyer, Henry Farrar, Mr Ball and wife, Mr Divol, Abraham Joslin, Daniel Gains, Thomas Rowlandson, William Kerley, Josiah Kerley, John McLeod, John Kettle and two sons, Josiah Divol, Mrs Kerley, Mrs Roper, all inhabitants of Lancaster were killed. About twenty women and children were captured. Mrs Rowlandson the wife of the minister, and all his children were captured. The wife of Abraham Joslin being unable to travel, was knocked in the head by the savages with a child two years old. Mrs Rowlandson and two children were restored shortly after. Captain Wadsworth lost one of his men by the name of George Harrington.

Order 600
soldiers to
be raised.

The
health of
General
Winslow
being bad
he was
permitted
to retire
from the
command
and each
colony to
appoint its
own com-
mander.

‘The commissioners taking into their considerations the present state of things both as to the common enemy upon their late flight, and also the danger of our own plantations, by reason of them, do conclude and resolve that besides or securing of the frontier towns in each jurisdiction, which they commend to the respective councils in each colony, there be a speedy prosecution of the enemy by the joint forces of the united colonies; and in pursuance thereof do order that six hundred soldiers be forthwith made ready according to the stated proportions of each colony, to meet at such place or places of rendezvous within three weeks after the date hereof as shall be most convenient. Connecticut colony being also desired to engage the Pequot and Moheagan Indians in the service, and that care be taken that the soldiers sent, be men fit for such an expedition, and well fitted with ammunition and provision of all sorts for fourteen days’ march. And because the honored Gen. Winslow through his indispositions of body is disenabled for going forth again, it is ordered that according to a former order the commander in chief of the forces of the colony where the seat of war shall happen to be, shall be the chief over the whole. The soldiers to be either dragoons or troopers well fitted with long fire-arms, and one man for every ten horses to take care of them. The place of rendezvous to be at Quabauge the twentyninth instant.’

‘THOMAS DANFORTH,
‘WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
‘JOSIAS WINSLOW,
‘THOMAS HINCKLEY,
‘JOHN WINTHROP,
‘WAIT WINTHROP.’

The enterprising spirit of Gov. Winslow, was too great for his feeble frame, and he was compelled to retire from a command which required physical hardihood no less than military skill.

To protect the western frontier, Major Savage with a considerable force was ordered there early in March, and was joined near Quaboag by some soldiers from Connecticut. He proceeded to the Watchuset hills but found no Indians. He then explored the woods, and while on this service was attacked by a small party. Mr Bulkley the chaplain of the Connecticut forces was wounded, and one soldier killed.

Major Savage marches to Connecticut river.

Soon after he fell in with another party and killed or captured sixteen, but he was still unable to discover the main body of the enemy. He then at a fortunate time, marched for Connecticut river. Immediately after his arrival, North-Hampton was attacked and the palisade forced; this attack however was unfortunate for the Indians, for after they had forced themselves within the palisade they were so vigorously assailed by the soldiers of the garrison and compelled so suddenly to retreat, that they found some difficulty in escaping without the barrier, and sustained considerable loss. They killed four men and two women, and set fire to four or five dwelling houses and as many barns.

Indians attack North-Hampton and are repulsed.

A party of English at Longmeadow, a place within the limits of Springfield, while on their way to attend public worship were surprised by the Indians, and two young women who were wounded, were taken and left on the ground.

A party surprised by the Indians at Longmeadow.

The inhabitants on Connecticut river now abandoned their habitations and withdrew into the garrisoned houses.

Major Savage hearing of many outrages in the lower part of the country, was induced to return with his whole force.

The other body of Indians amounting to five hundred, while on their march to the Plymouth colony, on the twentyfirst of February attacked Medfield, a town in the

Medfield attacked and mostly burnt.

county of Suffolk, (now Norfolk) within twentytwo miles of Boston. This town alarmed by the disaster at Lancaster, had applied to the government for aid which was granted, and was now garrisoned by a hundred and sixty soldiers ; but the soldiers were posted in different houses which were wide from each other. The Indians made their approach in the night so secretly, that they were not discovered, and lurking in the bushes with which the town abounded and under barns and fences, awaited for the first dawn of day to commence the attack, and then suddenly assailing the houses, shot down the first who appeared at their doors, and commenced the work of destruction by setting fire to the houses. Some in their flight from one house to another were killed, some wounded, and some were taken. The alarm was dreadful. Parents snatched their children and fled in different directions, some escaped, some were captured, and some were killed. Most of the houses in the western and south-western part of the town were burnt. The cattle being generally tied in the barns and out-buildings, were consumed with the dwellings. Lieutenant Adams was shot at his door, and his wife in the house. So sudden and unexpected was the assault that the soldiers could not be collected, and more than twenty of the inhabitants were killed before any force could be rallied. At last a spirited defence was commenced, the Indians were kept in check, and a piece of ordnance being discharged twice or thrice, they retreated over a bridge which had been erected across the Charles river. Having fired the bridge to prevent pursuit, they left a writing for the English, threatening to continue the war twenty years, asserting that they were driven to desperation, that their property had been all destroyed and that they had nothing to lose, but that the houses, barns and cattle of the English always gave them

the means of revenge and retaliation ; and this was a sad truth.

The loss of the Indians in this attack could not be ascertained, but it was well known that they sustained some. The best houses in Medfield fortunately escaped without injury and all the garrisoned houses, but the loss was estimated at £2000. It was supposed that this body of Indians pursued their course towards Plymouth colony, and the same body it was conjectured was soon afterwards seen in the neighborhood of Providence and Patuxet.

On the twentyfifth of February, Weymouth was attacked and a few houses and barns were burnt. This was the nearest approach made by the Indians to Boston, the distance being about eleven miles.

Weymouth attacked and some houses burnt.

On the twelfth of March, Mr Clarke's house in Plymouth was assailed and set on fire, and eleven persons were killed. This was the first mischief which had been done within the town of Plymouth. It was supposed that Tototon commanded the party which attacked Clarke's house.

Clarke's house at Plymouth attacked and the garrison massacred.

On the 17th of March, Warwick a town in Rhode Island, was nearly destroyed.

Warwick destroyed.

The government of Plymouth had been alarmed by the outrages which had been perpetrated in Massachusetts, and apprehensive of an attack on their own towns, they ordered Captain Peirce of Scituate to march in pursuit of the enemy with a company of fifty Englishmen, and twenty christian and friendly Indians of Cape Cod.

Captain Peirce of Scituate sent to Blackstone river.

On the 26th of March, Peirce having reached that part of Pawtucket which was near Mr Blackstone's house, (Attleboroughgore) and discovering that the Indians were near, resolved to engage them ; although he knew that he should have to contend against great odds, he was probably not aware of the actual superiority of the enemy.

His fight with the Indians and disastrous defeat and death.

He boldly crossed the river to attack them, but discovering that he was greatly outnumbered, he retreated to the river side with a view to prevent his company from being surrounded, but this movement only served to accelerate his fate. A part of the Indian force having been detached across the river, they anticipated him, and commenced a heavy fire from the opposite bank.—Attacked thus in front and in rear, and hemmed in on all sides, he formed his men into a circle, placing them back to back;—disdaining to yield, and inspiring his company with his own courage, the fight was continued with desperation, all being resolved to sell their lives as dearly as they could. Peirce received a wound in his thigh and fell to the ground. One of his Indians called Amos, would not desert him, but continued by his side, constantly charging and discharging his musket; the Indian sensible at last that it was utterly hopeless to attempt to save his captain, and that his own life would be the inevitable and unavailing sacrifice of his fidelity, and perceiving that the enemy had blacked their faces, he drew out a pouch of blacking, and having made himself in appearance like them, he passed amongst them without suspicion, and watching a favorable opportunity escaped.

In this disastrous fight the commander fell, and all the English were cut off to a man, and eight of the christian Indians; but dearly was the victory purchased; one hundred and forty fell victims to the desperate but despairing courage of the English.

Peirce had despatched a messenger to Providence as soon as he discovered his danger, but the message was never delivered.—The people of Rehoboth learning his peril, instantly marched to his assistance, but they arrived too late, as they found only the dead bodies of his men, to which they rendered the last offices.

This defeat was the severest calamity which befel the Plymouth colony during the war. The numbers which were killed being equal to one third of their regular force.

The escape of two of the Cape Indians was so remarkable that it is deserving of notice. One of them being closely pursued by one of the enemy, sheltered himself behind a large rock; his adversary waited on the other side for his first movement with a view to shoot instantly; the Cape Indian sensible of his peril, gently raised his cap on the end of a stick, until he brought it just above the level of the rock; his enemy supposing it to be his head fired and pierced the cap with a bullet, the Cape Indian instantly left his position, advanced and shot the other dead.

The other Cape Indian who was pursued in the like manner, escaped to a large tree which had been blown up by the wind, with the earth still adhering to its roots, which formed a broad round shelter in the shape of a shield; behind this shelter he rested, while his adversary was posted on the other side, ready to shoot at the first movement. The Cape Indian making a small hole through the earth which clung to the roots of the tree, looked through, and perceiving that his enemy presented a fair mark, he gently inserted the end of his musket into the hole, fired, and killed him.

Another of the Cape Indians escaped discovery, and saved himself, by pretending to chase an Englishman with an uplifted hatchet.

After the fight, the Indians crossed the river and attacked that part of Rehoboth which was called Seekonk, where, on the twentyeighth of March, they burnt thirty barns, and forty houses, and on the next day, on their march to Narragansett they stormed Providence, and burnt thirty houses. No life was lost in this onset, but that of one Wright, a religious but eccentric man, who

Seekonk
in Rehoboth
both attacked
and burnt.
Thirty
houses
burnt at
Providence.

derided all attempts at defence, and put his trust in the bible ; he constantly refused to secure himself or his goods in a garrison, and when he was killed, his bible was in his hand ; even this talisman could not save him from the fury of the savages.

Roger
Williams
spared.

Most of the inhabitants both of Seekonk and of Providence had fled to Rhode Island previous to these attacks. A few however, remained at Providence, amongst whom was Roger Williams. He well knew several of the chiefs and had much discourse with them ; — they pretended that their quarrel was really with Plymouth, and that they were constrained to act against the other colonies by reason of the attack on the Narragansett fort, and when they engaged with Captain Peirce they were on their march to attack Plymouth. They were flushed with success, and confidently anticipated the entire conquest of the country, and the extermination of the English. Mr Williams reproached them for their cruelties, and threatened them with the vengeance of the Bay, (Massachusetts) which could raise ten thousand men, and even if they succeeded in destroying them, the king of England would ‘ send as many from Old England every year ; ’ they answered proudly that they should be ready for them ; but they assured Mr Williams that he should never be injured ; *‘ for he was a good man, and had been kind to them formerly. ’*

The Indians are strongly susceptible both of gratitude and attachment. It was amidst the smoking ruins of the desolation which they had created, while their hands were reeking with the blood of the ‘ slaughtered English, and while they were lamenting the loss of their own comrades who had fallen by English hands, that their sense of the mild virtues of Williams induced them to check the career of their rage, and to spare this good man.

Prosper-
ous situa-
tion of
Philip.

Philip’s affairs at this time seemed to move on a full and swelling tide of prosperity, but it was soon checked and from a quarter from which little was expected.

Four companies of volunteers had been raised in Connecticut, principally in New London, Norwich, and Stonington, and had been placed under the command of Major Palms, and Captains George Dennison, James Avery, and John Staunton. To these companies were attached a considerable number of Moheagans, Pequots, and Nianticks, the latter were from a small tribe of the Narragansetts, who were governed by Ninnigret a sachem who had lately refused to engage in the war against the English. He resided in that part of the Narragansett country now called Westerly. Onecho one of the sons of Uncas, commanded the Moheagans; Casasinamon the sachem of the Pequots led his own men, and the twenty Narragansetts of Ninnigret were commanded by Catapazet. These companies were in constant service, whenever one returned from an expedition, its place was supplied by another.

Four companies of volunteer English and Indians raised in Connecticut.

Canonchet or Nanuntenoo a Narragansett sachem, and a son of Miantonimoh the chief sachem, whose fate has already been related, had escaped from the fort during the dreadful fight of the 19th of December. Being a man of uncommon courage and enterprise, and feeling the necessity of making provision for the subsistence of his people, who were in the vicinity of Connecticut river, he voluntarily undertook an expedition to Seekonk for the purpose of procuring seed corn, (of which they were destitute) wherewith to plant the lands on the river, which had been taken from the English. Taking with him only thirty of his men, he set forth early in April, on this hazardous expedition. He reached the places of his destination just after Peirce's fight, and encamped on Blackstone river, near the Pawtucket falls in Seekonk.* Being un-

* Trumbull in his history of Connecticut, says that Canonchet had been engaged in the fight with Captain Peirce; but the fight was on the 26th of March, and Canonchet did not leave the Connecticut river until April.

apprehensive of danger, he retained only seven of his men, with whom he was diverting himself in conversing about the defeat of Peirce.

Captain
Dennison
captures
Canon-
chet, a
Narragan-
set sach-
em near
Pawtuck-
et, and
puts him
to death.

Captain Dennison with his company and some Indians, left Stonington on the 27th of March, on an exploring expedition. They discovered one Indian; him they killed, and captured two Indian women from whom they learned that Canonchet was near. Dennison instantly quickened his march to attack him: his wigwam was situated near a high hill, from which the approach of Dennison was discovered by some of Canonchet's men, who, without informing him, fled to save their own lives; at last one more faithful than the rest, informed him of the near approach of the English. Canonchet attempted to fly, but he was pursued so closely by Catapazat and his Indians, and some of the English, that after he had thrown off his blanket, and silver laced coat, he was compelled to take to the river; his foot slipped, and he fell so deep into the water that his gun was immersed; this accident he confessed after he was taken, 'made his heart and bowels turn within him, so that he became like a rotten stick, and void of strength.' Monopoide a Pequot, who had outrun the others, plunged into the water and seized him, and although Canonchet was a man of great strength, stature, and activity, as well as courage, he made no resistance. Robert Staunton, a very young man, was the first Englishman who approached him; the haughty sachem disdain- ing his youthful appearance, refused to answer his interrogations, saying, 'you are too much of a child, you do not understand matters of war, let your chief come, him I will answer.'

His life being offered on condition that he should send one of his counsellors with propositions for a surrender, he refused to accept the offer. He was afterwards con-

veyed to Stonington. When upbraided with his breach of faith, and with saying 'that he would not deliver up a Wampanoag or the paring of a Wampanoag's nail, and that he would burn the English alive in their houses,' he replied that 'others were as forward for the war as himself, and that his death would not end the war, and desired to hear no more thereof.' When his sentence was announced to him, he said, 'he liked it well, and that he should die before his heart was soft, and before he had spoken anything unworthy of himself.' The Pequots shot him, the Moheagans beheaded and quartered him, Ninigret's men kindled the pile on which he was burned, and as a token of their love and fidelity to the English, presented his head to the council at Hartford!

Such was the fate of this heroic sachem, and this relation coming from one who wrote his narrative immediately after the termination of the war, for it was published in 1677, and from one too, who forgot the mildness of his christian profession and bestowed upon the unfortunate chief every opprobrious and hateful epithet, calling him 'a damned wretch,' 'a blasphemer,' &c, furnishes irresistible evidence of his heroic and noble character.

His father had been put to death by the English. The English had burned the women and children of his tribe in their wigwams alive, and therefore he might well be excused for saying that 'he would burn them alive in their houses.' His refusal to betray the Wampanoags who had sought his protection, is another evidence of his lofty and generous spirit, and his whole conduct after his capture was such, that surely at this period we may be allowed to lament the unhappy fate of this noble Indian, without incurring any imputation for want of patriotism.

The death of Canonchet was a severe blow to the Indians; he was the son of Miantonimoh, the chief sachem

But at this time much insubordination prevailed. Scituate and Sandwich did not raise their quota, and some returned after marching to Middleborough.

The defence was now left to the towns. The women and children were placed in garrisoned houses, 'and strict injunctions were given for continual watch and ward in every town,' and orders couched in the strongest terms, were given to the military officers to be on the alert.

Dartmouth, Middleborough, and Swansey, had been abandoned.

During this season the colony of Plymouth suffered severely from the burning of buildings. On the ninth of April, a small party of the enemy burnt an outhouse and barn at Bridgewater, and rifled some houses; they were pursued by the inhabitants, but escaped.

On the 20th of April, Scituate was attacked by fifty Indians, who burnt nineteen houses and barns, but the inhabitants being speedily collected, assailed them with so much spirit that they were glad to retreat.

Scituate attacked and partly burnt.

The inhabitants of Taunton, Bridgewater, and Rehoboth had been strongly urged to abandon their dwellings, and to remove to the sea-side, as they were exposed to the greatest dangers in this horrible war, but they refused, and resolutely persisted in abiding at their houses, and manfully meeting the dangers with which they were threatened.*

The inhabitants of Taunton, Bridgewater, and Rehoboth, urged to remove, but refused.

* A committee from the towns on Cape Cod, viz. Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth, and Eastham, had invited the inhabitants of these towns to remove and to take up their residence with them during the continuance of the war. The town of Taunton, by their committee, (Richard Williams, Walter Deane, George Macy, and William Harvey,) returned their thanks, but declined to accept the invitation. 'We bless God, (say they,) that he hath given us so much room in your hearts, that you so freely tender to us a part with you in your houses, fields, and provisions, at such a time, when the Lord is threatening us with the bereavement of our own. It much comforteth us in this day of darkness and distress, we shall want no succor you are able to afford us. We therefore return you all serious thanks for your sincere and abundant love, beseeching the Lord to continue and increase your peace, and ability, and

Philip's
attach-
ment to
the family
of Leon-
ard.

It is said that Philip had given orders that Taunton and Bridgewater should be spared until all the other towns in the colony were destroyed ; if it was so, he discovered a trait of generous and grateful feeling, which could not have existed if he was that monster of cruelty and ingratitude which he is represented to have been by the historians of the day.

A family dwelt in Taunton by the name of Leonard, from whom Philip had received many favors and kindnesses. James Leonard had emigrated from Pontipool in Wales, as early as 1652, and had erected the first forge in the English colonies in this town. Philip had resided generally at Mount Hope, but during the summers he frequently resorted to a place in Taunton, known by the name of the Fowling Pond.† In his excursions he had made himself acquainted with the Leonards ; they repaired his guns, and supplied him with iron and with such tools as are most prized by savages, and uniformly treated him with kindness and attention : he had become more attached to this family than to any of the English, and he gave his Indians, at the commencement of the war, the strictest orders that they should never injure a Leonard. As he knew that in a general attack on the town, this favorite family might be exposed to dangers equal to those of the other inhabitants, it

promptness to relieve the distresses in this evil day. Nevertheless, upon our serious and mature deliberation upon, and consideration of, your great offer, we cannot, at present, comply with a motion to remove and quit our places, and leave our habitations to be a desolation, and that because we fear we should in so doing be wanting to the name of God, and the interest of Christ, in this place, and bewray much diffidence and cowardice, and give the adversary occasion to triumph over us, to the reproach of that great and fearful name of God that is called on us. The answers of Rehoboth by their committee, Thomas Cooper, Peter Burt, Henry Smith, Daniel Smith, and Nicholas Peck ; and of Bridgewater by their minister, the Rev. James Keith, display the same determined resolution and submissive piety.

† Now in Raynham.

becomes therefore extremely probable that his attachment to the Leonards prevented the destruction of Taunton. No other reason can be assigned why he should have spared it. This town was situated near his country, and could have been as successfully assailed as any other.

No reason can be given why Bridgewater should have been spared ; and the report of Philip's favor so far as respects that town was probably not true, for on the eighth of May, a chief called Tisguogen with three hundred followers, attacked it on the east end and on the south side of the river.—Most of the inhabitants having learned on the day previous, that it would be attacked, remained at home ; some, however, who had ventured into the fields, were fired upon, but succeeded in escaping. The Indians began to set fire to the buildings, but the inhabitants sallying from the garrisoned house, attacked them with so much courage, that they were driven to the outskirts. A sudden shower arising, the fire which they had kindled was extinguished. The Indians then attacked that part of the town which was situated on the north side of the river, but the inhabitants again making a general charge upon them drove them off to a house about three miles distant, where they quartered through the night. The people, expecting to be attacked again, prepared with much activity and industry to defend themselves, but the Indians having burnt the house where they quartered and the barn appurtenant, and another house at a short distance, marched away.

Bridgewater attacked by three hundred Indians who are repulsed after burning thirteen houses.

In this rencontre not a single inhabitant of Bridgewater was killed or wounded. Thirteen houses were burnt, five only of which were in the town. The others were detached, and therefore more easily assailed.

During the whole period of this war, the town of Bridgewater, although several times attacked, and although a full proportion of their soldiers were always in the field, lost not a man.

Five persons killed at Taunton.

About this time five persons were killed in a distant part of Taunton called Nesquabinausit,* while laboring in the fields.†

Eleven houses burnt at Plymouth.

On the eleventh of May, eleven houses and five barns were burnt in Plymouth, and within a few days after, seven houses and two barns. Some mischief was also done at Namasket or Middleborough.

A small party of English scouting in the neighborhood of Plymouth, discovered an Indian ambush, and gaining the first fire, killed some of the enemy.

Another unsuccessful attempt of the Indians on Bridgewater.

On the 14th and 15th of July, Bridgewater was again visited by the savages, but no mischief was done. A sufficient force was rallied and went out to pursue them, and on the twentieth, they captured sixteen, whereof two were men.

While Plymouth was ravaged by the enemy with constant burnings, Massachusetts did not escape. About the middle of February, Isaac and Jacob Shepherd were killed at Concord. On the second of March a few Indians broke into some houses at Groton, which they rifled, and drove off some cattle. They continued to lurk about the town for several days. The inhabitants, intimidated by the fate of Lancaster, had been gathered into five garrisoned houses, four of which were within hail of each other; the other was at the distance of a mile. Between these four houses there were passage-ways for driving cattle into the pastures, which were in the rear of the houses.

* Contracted to Squabetta.

† Their names were Henry Andrews, James Philips, James Bell, and his two sons. The graves of these men are still to be seen near the river.

On the ninth, some of the Indians who had taken possession of some out-houses laid an ambush for four men who had been despatched with two carts to bring in hay. The ambush being discovered, two of the men escaped, one was killed and horribly mangled, and the other was captured, but shortly after effected his escape.

On the 13th, the whole body of the Indians, amounting to four hundred, attacked the town near the place where the four garrisons were stationed. The people were employed in the usual labors of agriculture, and the attack was entirely unexpected, as on the preceding day a party had been sent out, who were unable to discover a single Indian, within a circuit of several miles. The Indians had planted a body of men in ambush in the rear of a hill, near one of the garrisons, but two of them having been discovered on the hill, the alarm was given. The two nearest garrisons instantly sallied out with a view to take the two Indians who were stationed on the hill, but they continued there for the purpose of decoying the English, and drew them so near that they fell into the ambush, and the Indians instantly rising from their covert, made a sharp fire, by which one was killed, and three wounded.

Groton attacked by four hundred Indians and burnt.

At the instant in which the soldiers left the nearest garrison to attack the Indians on the hill, another body who had been lying in ambush assailed the house, and tore down the palisade; while they were thus engaged, the soldiers on their retreat passed that house and secured themselves in the next, and the women and children who were in the house which had been attacked, fortunately escaped to the other house without injury. The Indians then entered the house without opposition and found much booty. As soon as the first volley was fired, the smoke was seen rising in several places, which was the signal for firing the town.

The house which the Indians had taken, and the one to which the English had fled, were so near that a conversation might be holden between the people in both. Captain Parker, who commanded the next garrison, and John Moneco called one eyed John, who were well known to each other, soon fell into discourse concerning the war, and the possibility of peace. The deportment of John was very insolent; he boasted of having burned Lancaster and Medfield, reviled the English for worshipping God in the meeting-house, and threatened to burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, and Boston.*

An attempt was made to surprise the distant garrison. An old Indian, apparently decrepid, passed the house slowly with a sheep on his back. Several shots were made without effect, and some went out to take him, but by great good fortune they discovered the ambush, and informing those within the house of their danger by signal, the attempt failed.

During that night the house which had been taken was occupied by the same Indians who had taken it; another large body assembled in an adjacent valley and passed the night in frolic. In the morning after firing twice or thrice at Parker's garrison, they marched off, having burnt forty houses, besides out-buildings. They cut off the head of the soldier who had been slain, and fixed it on a pole. They dug up the corpse of another and hewing it into pieces, stuck the different parts on poles, and the body of a dead infant which was found in the house, was cut into pieces, and thrown to the swine.

* John was afterwards taken and hanged at Boston.

On the 15th of March, two Englishmen were attacked and killed by a body of Indian women in the woods between Marlborough and Sudbury, and their remains were barbarously mangled. On the 17th of April, Capt. Gill, who remained in command at Groton, discovering some Indians in pursuit of swine, killed two of them at one shot.

Two Englishmen attacked and killed by Indian women.

The garrison was afterwards removed, and the town was abandoned by its inhabitants.

Groton abandoned.

The 26th of March seems to be a day of disasters for the English. On that day Captain Pierce was defeated and slain near Pawtucket, and on the same day Marlborough was attacked and burnt, the garrisoned houses being the only ones which escaped the flames. On the succeeding day Lieutenant Jacobs who commanded the soldiers at Marlborough, and some of the inhabitants of Sudbury, being forty in all, went out to discover the enemy. They succeeded; three hundred of them were lying by their fires within half a mile of the town which they had desolated. The English whose approach had not been perceived, attacked them in the dark with so much success, that they wounded thirty, of whom fourteen afterwards died.

Marlborough burnt.

Lieut. Jacob's success.

The Indians had now scattered themselves over the country in small parties, doing what mischief they could. A man was killed at Weymouth, another at Hingham; and at Rehoboth they attacked Woodcock's house, killed one man, and one of Woodcock's sons, wounded another, and burnt the son's house.*

The Indians scatter and do mischief in various parts of the country.

* Woodcock's house was a noted place in Philip's war; it was taken down in 1806. The house in Attleborough now occupied as a tavern by Colonel Hatch, on the Boston and Providence turnpike road, stands on the spot. It was probably after this attack on the house, that the enterprise of Captain Ware of Wrentham against a party of Indians was undertaken. This affair has escaped

They were also discovered at Billerica and Braintree. On the 17th of April, they burnt the remaining houses at Marlborough, which had been deserted. The house of one Thomas Eames had been burnt, his wife killed, and his children captured previously.

Sudbury
attacked
and several
of the
people of
Concord
killed.

On the next day they attacked Sudbury, and burnt several houses and barns. Ten or twelve of the people of Concord while on their march to succor Sudbury, were waylaid and all killed. A more serious disaster occurred in the course of this day.

Defeat
and death
of Capt.
Wadsworth.

Captain Wadsworth had been despatched from Boston with fifty men to succor Marlborough; hearing of the enemy at Sudbury, he changed his line of march and went there. Discovering a company of a hundred Indians he resolved to attack them; they retired slowly into the woods and decoyed Wadsworth after them. He suddenly found himself surrounded by several hundred, who gradually narrowing their circle, forced the English to the summit of a hill, where they made a most gallant defence, but the night overtaking them, the company began to scatter,

the notice of the ancient historians, yet its authority, though traditional, has been made to appear unexceptionable, by the industry and research of Dr Mann. This affair occurred in that part of the ancient Wrentham which is now called Franklin. One Rocket, while in pursuit of a stray horse, discovered a party of fortytwo Indians. Suspicious that they designed to attack the settlement, he watched them until they halted and prepared to rest for the night, being undiscovered himself. He then stole off to the settlement and gave the alarm. The aged, and the women and children were secured in the garrisoned houses, and a company of thirteen marched under the command of Captain Ware to surprise the enemy. Rocket guided them to the spot; the men were posted and received orders to reserve their fire. At the moment the Indians roused from slumbers to resume their march, they received the deadly fire of the English. Completely surprised, in their confusion some of them leaped down a rocky precipice, from a height of twenty feet. Some were overtaken and killed; some ran into the river. Woodcock wounded one at the distance of eighty rods with a musket bullet, and then killed him. Twenty of the Indians were killed, and not one of the English.

and making a hasty retreat, were pursued so closely that only twenty escaped. Captain Wadsworth,* and the gallant Captain Brocklebank of Rowley both fell.

A party of English convoying some provisions to Brookfield, fell in with a number of Indians, but by riding rapidly, and keeping their muskets constantly presented, they were not attacked. The Indians however, captured three or four who had fallen in the rear, and it is said they put them to death with tortures.

Brookfield
convoy
escape.

The government at Plymouth becoming alarmed in consequence of the disaster of Wadsworth, sent for Church, as they now began reluctantly to believe that he was possessed both of courage and sagacity, and had some knowledge of the mode of Indian warfare, and requested his advice. He urged them to pursue the Indian mode, and to send out a force of three hundred men, consisting of English and Indians, who should lie in the woods and resort to all the stratagems of their enemies; representing also that nothing could be done effectually unless the whole people like the Indians applied themselves to war; he further advised expeditions of six weeks, which he thought the soldiers would endure cheerfully. He offered to engage to enlist one hundred and fifty Englishmen as volunteers, to this number he supposed the government could easily add fifty more; this force with one hundred friendly Indians he thought sufficient for the service, and offered to take the command. This advice was received very ungraciously by the government. They urged the debts of the colony, scouted the idea of employing Indians, and rejected his project with some marks of contempt. Disgusted with their parsimonious and unwise

The Plymouth
government send
for
Church
but re-
ject his
advice.

* Captan Wadsworth was the father of Dr Wadsworth President of Harvard University.

He re-
moves his
family to
Rhode
Island.

notions, Church resolved to withdraw his family from their residence at Duxbury and to take them out of the colony to Rhode Island, where he supposed they would be secure. The government were reluctant that they should go, but at length consented. His friends were anxious that he should leave his wife and family at Clark's garrison in Plymouth, but he steadily resisted their solicitations, and removed them safely to Rhode Island, where they had scarcely been settled, before Clark's house was attacked, and the garrison massacred.

The In-
dians
think of
peace.

At this time the Indians began to think of peace. Although they had upon the whole been successful in their contest with the English, yet they were reduced to great distress. They had been accustomed to rely much on fishing as one of their means of support; of this resource they were now deprived, as the English were in possession of the sea-coast, and they could not resort there without incurring great danger. The enterprise of Canonchet having failed they had planted no corn. Their mode of living being changed, and using animal food inordinately without vegetables or salt, they became unhealthy, and disease commenced its ravages. They were also frequently in a state of starvation. They inflicted much distress, but they were visited by much more, and they began to doubt of their eventual success. While they were in this desponding temper, some agents from the English went amongst them, and succeeded in redeeming several captives, amongst whom was Mrs Rowlandson.

Philip's
Indians
attacked
by the
Mohawks.

To complete their misfortunes, they were attacked by the Mohawks, the mortal enemies of the Indians of New England. Report said that Philip had attacked a party of Mohawks, (intending to accuse the English of committing the act, in the hope of exciting the Mohawks against them,) and supposed that he had killed the whole.

His policy was so deep and subtle that he might have been induced to attempt such an act; but if this was his object, his treachery recoiled with dreadful force upon himself.

One of the Mohawks who was left for dead on the ground, recovered, and disclosed the truth to his countrymen; and it was reported that the Mohawks determined to revenge the murder of their countrymen upon the real offender, attacked Philip near Albany, put him to flight, and pursued him as far as Hoosack river. Previous to this affair, there had been much consultation as to the propriety of engaging the Mohawks in the war against Philip, which could have been easily effected, as they were inveterate in their animosities. The project, however, was abandoned.

The English experienced much trouble in consequence of the imprudent and wanton acts of some of their people, who without any other provocation than a false suspicion that they had set fire to a haystack, fell upon a party of Wamesit Indians near Chelmsford, killing some, and wounding others. This affair happened towards the close of the preceding autumn, (1675.) These Indians remained quiet through the winter, but they cherished a deep sense of the wrong, which they determined to revenge.

Outrage
on the
Wamesits
and their
revenge.

Early in March they abandoned the place which had been assigned to them, destroyed a house in Andover by fire, and wounded one Roger Marks. On the tenth day they destroyed two more houses at Shawskin; on the eighth of April they killed a young man who belonged to Andover, and captured his brother, and after cutting out the tongues of some cattle, they proceeded to Concord, where they killed another man. On the eighteenth they destroyed three houses at Chelmsford, and killed two of the

sons of Samuel Varnum, and on the fifteenth they destroyed fourteen or fifteen houses there.

On the 3d of May, a man was killed at Haverhill, and at the same time Thomas Kimball was killed at Bradford, and his wife and children captured. The eastern Indians were suspected of committing these acts.

Three companies of foot, and three of horse raised by Massachusetts.

To repress these outrages of the Wamesits and of the other small parties of the Indians who hovered about the country, several companies of foot and horse were raised by the government of Massachusetts.

The foot were placed under the command of Captains Sill, Cutler, and Holbrook, and the horse under Captains Brattle, Prentice, and Henschman. They marched on the 27th of April.

On the 6th of May, the Natick Indians who were employed in the English service, discovered a party of the enemy in the woods in chase of a bear. The horse fell upon them unawares, and killed and captured sixteen. After this they could never gain sight of the enemy. The weather being excessively rainy, and the soldiers sick, the companies all returned to Boston.

Captain Brattle surprises a party of Indians at Rehoboth.

Soon after their return, Captain Brattle was sent to Rehoboth, the governor of Massachusetts having been informed that a party of the enemy were fishing in the river. Brattle being joined by the inhabitants, attacked them while engaged in this employment, and killed twelve without the loss of a man.

Capt. Holyoke surprises another party at Springfield.

After the return of the forces which had been sent to Connecticut river in the Spring, some mischief was done there. Small parties were lurking about Springfield. Captain Holyoke who commanded the militia, went out with twelve young men and surprised a party near the river, killing two or three, and wounding one.

A few English who were engaged in their tillage at Hockanum, at a short distance from Hadley, although attended by a guard of soldiers were surprised; three were slain, one of whom was Deacon Goodman.

English surprised at Hockanum.

The great body of the Indians had now seated themselves on the upper falls of Connecticut river, near Deerfield, and were industriously engaged in fishing; as the soldiers were withdrawn, they felt perfectly secure, and plundered the English of their cattle, and committed many petty injuries.

Captains Turner and Holyoke attack the Indians at Deerfield. and are defeated.

Two English lads who had been captured escaped, and informed the people of Hadley, Hatfield, and North Hampton, of the careless and unguarded conduct of the Indians. These towns soon mustered a force of one hundred and fifty men, consisting partly of the inhabitants, and partly of soldiers from the garrisons; this force was commanded by Captains Turner and Holyoke. On the night of the 18th of May, they marched twenty miles, and dismounting at a short distance from the Indian encampment, fastened their horses, and advancing secretly and silently, found the enemy reposing on the ground in deep slumber, having held a feast on the preceding evening; no scouts were abroad; no watch was set.—It was about the dawn of day; a heavy fire was instantly poured into their wigwams. The affrighted Indians awoke from their sleep, and their panic was aggravated by the apprehension that their assailants were Mohawks; some plunged into the river and were drowned; some took to their canoes and were carried down the falls, presenting fair marks for the shots of the English; some crept for shelter under the banks of the river, where the English attacked them with their swords and killed many. Captain Holyoke killed five with his own hands. The forge which they had erected for repairing their arms was burnt; not less

than two hundred, including some of the principal sachems, perished in this conflict. But the victory was soon snatched from the English, by one of those singular and unforeseen accidents, which will often defeat the best concerted enterprises. They were informed by an Indian whom they had captured, that Philip was near with a thousand men.—The English were struck with a panic; the Indians who were scattered on both banks of the river, recovering from their first alarm, discovered that their assailants were few in number, and resolved in their turn to attack them; the English fearing that they might be joined by Philip and all his force, began to retreat in confusion, which was increased by the sickness of Captain Turner, whose feeble strength was utterly exhausted by his exertions, and he was unfitted for command. During the retreat, the rear of the English was so vigorously attacked, that had not Holyoke exposed himself to every danger, and exhibited feats of activity and courage almost incredible, the whole force under his command would have been destroyed, but by shewing himself in every quarter where his soldiers were pressed, sometimes in the front, sometimes in the rear, and again on the flanks, he kept their spirits alive, and animated them to prodigious exertions; his horse was shot under him and he fell, many Indians rushed upon him and attempted to despatch him, but he succeeded in disengaging his pistols, with which he killed two of his assailants; the others were so intimidated that they suffered him to be rescued by a single soldier. The English finally escaped from their pursuers after losing thirtyeight men, amongst whom was Captain Turner.

Indians
burn Hat-
field.

On the 30th of May, the Indians having rallied a large force amounting to six hundred, appeared before Hatfield, and burnt twelve houses and barns which were beyond

the limits of the fortified part of the town. The houses in the centre of the town were all surrounded with palisades, but the male inhabitants with the exception of one aged man, were laboring in the fields; the attack being perceived from Hadley, twenty five bold young men ventured to cross the river, broke through the enemy, and gained the fortified part, losing only five of their number, and killing at the onset as many of their enemies; this daring act intimidated the Indians, and they retired from the town, after losing twentyfive.

The government of Massachusetts having learned the dangers which again threatened the settlements on Connecticut river, ordered the forces which had been placed under the command of Major Savage, and had been furloughed, but not disbanded, to reassemble, and to commence their march for that country on the 30th of May, expecting that on their march they would effect a junction with the Connecticut forces.

The province of Connecticut had raised an army of three hundred and fifty, who were to be joined by the friendly Pequots and Moheagans.—The command was given to Major Talcott.—Their rendezvous was at Norwich.

Early in June, Major Talcott with two hundred and fifty Englishmen, and two hundred Moheagans and Pequots, marched from Norwich to Wabsquasset, where they found the wigwams deserted; after destroying five acres of standing corn they proceeded to Chanagangum, where they killed nineteen Indians and captured thirtythree, and after marching through Quaboag or Brookfield, where they expected to have been joined by the troops of Massachusetts, reached North-Hampton on the 8th of June. Finding the whole country desolated, they suffered much from want of provisions.

Major
Savage
ordered
to march
to Con-
necticut
river.

Major
Talcott
com-
mands the
Connecti-
cut forces.

Marches
through
Brook-
field to
Connecti-
cut
river.

Repulses
an attack
on Had-
ley.

Early on the morning of the 12th of June, Hadley was again attacked by seven hundred Indians.—The troops which had been left by Major Savage in March under the command of Captain Turner who was killed at Deerfield, were now commanded by Captain Swain. These soldiers together with those of Connecticut, all being under the command of Talcott marched to the relief of Hadley. The Indians were repelled, and a piece of ordnance having been discharged, they fled in dismay, leaving some of their dead on the ground. A barn was fired, and two of the English soldiers who had ventured without the fortifications, were killed. Talcott was much censured for not pursuing the enemy, as most of his force was mounted, but his general character was that of a brave as well as prudent commander. He certainly was a successful one. It was a venturous enterprise to pursue an Indian enemy on horseback through the woods. Probably he judged right; he had saved the town and gained his principal object, and his whole force might have been exposed to the danger of destruction in the pursuit.

Massa-
chusetts'
forces un-
der
Hench-
man
march to
Connecti-
cut river.

The Massachusetts' forces under the command of Capt. Henchman, marched on the appointed day, (May 30th,) to Quaboag, or Brookfield. On their way, one Tom Doublett, a Natick Indian, discovered the track of the enemy, and guided the English to a party who were fishing in the Weshacom ponds near Lancaster. Seven Indians were killed, and twenty nine captured, the captives being chiefly women and children. Henchman upon his arrival at Brookfield, ascertained that the Connecticut troops had preceded him. He returned to Marlborough, and supplied his soldiers with ammunition, and then marched directly to Hadley, where he joined the Connecticut forces after the action at Hadley. Both banks of the Connecticut river, from Hadley as far as Squakeag,

(Northfield,) were then explored, the Massachusetts' troops taking the eastern, and those of Connecticut the western side. On this march they did not discover a single Indian. They found the body of Captain Turner and buried it. Taking some fish and goods, which had been hidden by the enemy, they returned to Hadley, and hearing of no Indians in that quarter, the forces of the two colonies divided, and each commenced their homeward march.

Talcott
and
Hench-
man scour
both
banks of
the river.

The Indians now shifted their quarters continually, some going towards Narragansett, and some towards Watchuset, and in their marches different parties occupied on different nights the same quarters.

Henchman divided his force, scoured the country, and succeeded, in the course of his march, in obtaining some spoil, killed five Indians, and took eleven prisoners, two of whom were put to death; the others being women and children, were conveyed to Boston.

Dissensions now began to prevail amongst the Indian confederates, which soon terminated in open quarrels. Philip was bitterly reproached by the Indians of Pecomtuck, (Deerfield,) with inveigling them into the war, they declared that they had no cause of complaint against the English, but had lived with them as friends. Finding his influence to be on the decline, he departed with all that remained of the tribes who had dwelt near the ocean, to his own country; disasters gathered around him, and portended his downfall. The other Indians scattered in various directions, some going to the Merrimack, and some to the Hudson.

Dissen-
sions
amongst
the In-
dians.

When Talcott marched from Norwich into the Nipmuck country, he left a small number of soldiers to defend the towns near Narragansett. During his absence this handful of men made two expeditions into that country; in the first, they killed thirty men; in the last, they captured

Expedi-
tions of
the Eng-
lish into
the Narra-
gansett
country,
and their
success.

Major
Talcott
takes the
command
of three
hundred
English
and some
friendly
Indians.
Further
successes
in Narra-
gansett.

fortyfive women and children. After his return, he took the command of three hundred English soldiers and some friendly Indians. On the second of July he marched with Captains Dennison and Newberry on another expedition into the country of the Narragansetts. His forces were all mounted excepting his Indian allies. From a hill his scouts discovered a large body of the enemy, who had recently arrived and taken up their quarters in a swamp. The Pequots and Moheagans were ordered to rush down the hill into the swamp, around which the English dividing themselves into two bodies, rode on either side, with the design of attacking the enemy, when in the terror of the assault they should fly from the swamp. The surprise was complete. Those who fled from the Pequots and Moheagans, were attacked and cut up by the horse, and those who remained in the swamp were captured. Newberry's company dismounting, penetrated into the swamp and killed most of those who were attempting to escape. There was scarcely a resistance. One or two of the friendly Indians were wounded, but not a single Englishman. The prisoners amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty, amongst whom, however, there were many women and children. The old queen or *Sunke Squaw* of Narragansett fell into their hands. Thirtyfour Indian warriors were killed on the spot, and ninety afterwards, none being saved but the women and children. Fortune still continued to favor Talcott, for on his return he encompassed Warwick neck, and killed eighteen more, and captured fortynine. Before he reached his home, which was on the fifth of July, he captured sixty more.

Moheagans
tor-
ture a
prisoner.

The Moheagans solicited the English to give up one of the prisoners to them to be tortured : with much reluctance they consented. This prisoner had boasted that he had killed nineteen of the English, and had charged his gun

to kill the twentieth, but a Moheagan coming in his way, he was unwilling to lose so fair a mark, and killed him. The Moheagans commenced their infernal work by cutting one of his fingers round the joint, which they broke, and the same operation was performed upon all his fingers and toes. The torture was so cruel that the English incensed as they were, could not refrain from tears. They could weep at the sight of cruelty, and yet they suffered it to be committed although it was in their power to prevent it! The prisoner remained unmoved, not a sigh escaped his lips, not a tear swelled in his eye! When asked how he relished the torture, he replied, 'that he liked it well, and found it as sweet as the English did their sugar!' While inflicting their tortures they compelled him to dance and sing! When weary they broke the bones of his legs, and knocked out his brains.

After his men had recovered from their fatigues, Talcott again marched to Connecticut river and took up his quarters at Westfield. A large body of Indians were discovered while on their flight towards the river Hudson. It was with some difficulty that Talcott pursued them through the thick woods which covered the country between Westfield and Albany. He discovered them on the west side of the river Housatonick. Through the night he preserved great silence and order. In the morning he formed his troops into two divisions, one of which was ordered to cross the river at some distance below the Indians, and then passing silently up on the opposite side, to assail them in the rear, as they were encamped with their front to the river. The other party were also ordered to move silently up on the eastern side of the river, and to be ready when they heard the signal of the attack to assail them in front. But this scheme was disconcerted. A single Indian (leaving his companions in a profound sleep,) went down the river to

Talcott again marches to Connecticut river.

Pursues a large body of Indians flying to the Hudson. Engages them on the Housatonick. The Indians fly and the war is terminated in the vicinity of Connecticut river.

fish, and discovered the first division of the English. He was killed, but not before he had given the alarm. The party on the east side of the river mistaking the report of the gun for the signal, fired upon the enemy prematurely, but killed many, and wounded more. The other division not having arrived, the Indians who were uninjured effected their escape, but abandoned their baggage and provision, and many of their arms, which became the spoil of the English. The pursuit was continued for some time, but it being difficult to penetrate the forest, it was discontinued, and the remainder escaped and reached the Hudson, and joining themselves to the Mohicans* were incorporated with that tribe. Fortyfour were killed and taken, amongst whom were twentyfive warriors. The Sachem of Quaboag (Brookfield) was killed. In this affair Talcott lost only one Moheagan Indian. This was the last encounter with the enemy in the neighborhood of the Connecticut river.

The united colonies invite the Indians to accept of mercy.

James and 200 others surrender themselves to the government of Massachusetts.

Sagamore Sam of Nashaway implores peace.

The governments of the united colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts and Connecticut, well knowing the divided and distracted state of the Indians, issued proclamations inviting them to come in and accept of mercy. Within a few days after the issuing of these proclamations, James, an Indian, who had been educated a printer and was able to read, surrendered himself, and shortly after two hundred including men, women, and children, accepted the proffered mercy of the government of Massachusetts. On the sixth of July Sagamore Sam of Nashaway, sent a flag to the English imploring peace in the name of the Saviour (he had been one of the praying Indians.) The council of Massachusetts replied that those who began the war and those who had been guilty of any act of cruelty should not be pardoned, but those who had been drawn in, upon

* Or Mohicanni, a tribe dwelling on the Hudson.

submission, delivery of arms, and a quiet life, should be spared. On the twentyseventh of July, Sagamore John with one hundred and eighty hostile Indians, surrendered. To secure the favor of the government, John gave up old Matoonas, who had committed the first hostile act in Massachusetts, at Mendon. Matoonas had once embraced the christian religion, but had proved himself the inveterate enemy of the English. He was executed at Boston and acknowledged the justice of his sentence.

Sagamore John and 180 others surrender themselves to Massachusetts, and John is executed.

John denied having entertained any thought of hostility against the English, until he was forced into the confederacy by Philip, who had threatened his life if he persisted in his neutrality, but the merciless and unsparing government of Massachusetts, ordered John to be executed.

200 Indians surrender themselves to the Plymouth government.

Two hundred who were almost famished, surrendered themselves to the governor of Plymouth and were pardoned, with the exception of those who had been concerned in the slaughter of Clark's garrison at Plymouth; these were put to death. The others to prove their fidelity, offered to conduct the English to a place where twenty of the enemy might be surprised. Eight Englishmen ventured to go out with fourteen Indians and captured the whole. One who had killed an Englishman in the preceding year was executed.

Indians attacked at Dedham.

On the seventh of July, a small party of English with a few friendly Indians killed and captured seven of the enemy near Dedham, amongst whom was a Narragansett Sachem.

Again attacked and Pomham killed.

On the last week of the same month, another company of English and christian Indians attacked another party near Dedham and captured fifty without loss, and a large quantity of wampum and powder. In this affair Pomham one of the principal sachems of Narragansett and a man of great strength, valor, and prowess, was killed, and his son a beautiful and interesting youth was captured.

Philip re-
turns to
the Ply-
mouth ju-
risdiction.

In the meantime, the theatre of the war had again been transferred to the Plymouth jurisdiction. It has already been related that Captain HENCHMAN after exploring the forests in the neighborhood of Connecticut river, set out on his homeward march. At Sudbury he received orders to detach two of his companies by way of Dedham to join the Plymouth forces under the command of Major BRADFORD, who, with many of the Cape Cod Indians were at Seekonk* in pursuit of Philip. The friendly Indians had escaped an ambush and had slain several of their enemies. Capt. BRATTLE with a company of horse, and Capt. MOSELY with a company of foot, had already marched to Seekonk. The government of Massachusetts had received information that Philip was attended by only thirty men, and strong hopes were entertained that he might be taken.

Murder of
Mr Wil-
lett.

The murder of Mr HEZEKIAH WILLETT at Swansey, a young gentleman of great promise, and a son of one of the assistants of Plymouth, incensed the English; unsuspecting of enemies, Mr Willett had ventured beyond his door, and was shot dead with three balls; his head was cut off and his body left on the ground. An Indian called Crossman, was suspected to have been concerned in this act. A negro of the household of Willett was taken by the Indians, and after a short captivity escaped. He informed the English that Philip intended to attack Taunton. That town was immediately placed in a state of defence; when Philip approached, (which was on the eleventh of July,) he encountered such vigorous opposition, that he was compelled to fly, after burning two houses.

Capture
of 150 In-
dians.

The English force consisting of HENCHMAN's two companies, the companies under Major BRADFORD, and those of MOSELY and BRATTLE, in their search after Philip, succeeded in capturing an hundred and fifty Indians without the loss of a man. But Philip still eluded them.

*In Rehoboth.

To prevent his return into the Nipmuck country, horsemen were placed in all directions to guard the passes, but he concealed himself in such secret places that he baffled discovery. Once, a captive offered to guide the English to his encampment which he did, but when discovered, Philip fled in such haste that he left his kettle on the fire, and his dead unburied. Twenty of his party were overtaken in the pursuit and captured. This affair happened at Metapoiset. Philip escaped to Pocasset, by the same means by which he had escaped from the same place at the commencement of the war. His numbers were daily diminishing, and some of his stragglers were constantly brought in.

Philip escapes to Pocasset.

The court at their meeting at Plymouth on the tenth of June, passed several orders with a view to the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

Measures of the general court of Plymouth.

1. The governor, and in his absence the deputy governor, or any two of the assistants, 'upon any sudden exigency or emergent occasion, wherein no more of the council could be speedily convened, were authorised to press and send forth men, horses, arms, munition, provision, and all other necessities needful.'

2. The commissioned officers of every town, together with the town council or major part of the whole, were authorised, 'to require any part or parties of their men as a scout for the discovery and surprisal of the enemy within or near the respective towns, as also for the relief of any of the neighbor towns or plantations,' 'and to press horses.' And the commissioned officers were empowered in case of any exigency, so sudden that they could not advise with their town council, to command and lead forth 'the necessary force for the present relief of their own or the neighboring towns assaulted,' or to repulse the enemy in his advance thereto. Soldiers refusing to obey, forfeited

five shillings per day, 'to be levied by warrant from any of the magistrates or selectmen of the town, or to be laid neck and heels where no estate can be found.'

3. Commissioned officers and the town councils of divers neighboring towns, might for their mutual defence and preservation, agree to keep out a standing scout for the common good of the whole vicinity. Towns failing to furnish their quota of such scout, to pay five shillings per day to the other town parties to the agreement, for each deficient man. 'The commissioned officers and town council were made liable to the fine which was to be expended for the benefit of such towns as complied with the agreement.

4. The same parties agreeing to have their men in readiness to march forth for the same purpose if neglecting when the occasion required, were to forfeit five shillings for each deficient man, and each soldier refusing to obey the command, was made liable to the same penalty, which was to be disposed of as abovesaid.

5. It was further ordered 'for the better ordering of expeditions that the soldiers met together, might choose one to take the command of the whole, being one of the commissioned officers of the said towns, whom they shall readily obey as their commander in chief, who is hereby empowered to act with the advice of his council, and the commanders of the several squadrons and such other discreet men of his company as he should see cause to advise with,' at his discretion.

6. Every person refusing or neglecting 'to attend the country's service,' when 'pressed by a constable, pressmaster or their deputies, by order of 'any legal authority,' forfeited £5, 'or in want thereof should be compelled to run the gauntlet or both, as the transgression shall be circumstanced.' And where there is or may be opportunity

for such delinquents, finally to declare their resolution not to attend the said service, so that another may be pressed in their stead, and shall neglect the same, shall forfeit the sum of £5 more, the one half to the country, and the other half to the town to which the delinquent belonged.

7. Towns were directed to make 'a rate to pay all their soldiers and officers which had been out on the country's service, from first to last their full due, in such specie as the last rate for their payment in part was ordered, unless any of them desire, rather to stay to have it in land. The towns were directed to furnish their accompts of their particular and distinct disbursements to July court next, that so there may be a right proportioning of the whole charge of this war, upon the several towns.'

8. Such as refused or neglected to provide themselves with 'good and fixed arms fit for service' within one month, were made liable to a distress for as much as would procure such arms for them, 'and if the delinquents would not perform service with their guns when provided, the commissioned officers were to furnish them to such as would.'

In this most disastrous and trying period, when the very existence of the colony was endangered, such were the measures adopted by the civil government.

When a savage enemy was lurking in the woods, and planting his deadly ambushes in the borders of the villages, when towns were in danger of the flames, and the lives of whole communities were dependent on the energy and the exertions of the soldiery, a soldier under such circumstances refusing to march at the command of his officer, and thus incurring the guilt of mutiny, was to be fined 5s. a day, and in case of inability to pay, was to be 'laid neck and heels!'

A citizen, unaccustomed to arms or conscientiously scrupulous about engaging in war, refusing the requisition of a constable to go into service, was to be fined £5, or to 'run the guantlet,' or both!

The soldiers going on an expedition were permitted to choose their commander, and the commander was permitted and advised to consult his soldiers as to the business of his command. Responsibility was destroyed, and under such circumstances, any attempt to enforce the rules of discipline would have been farcical.

The government would not assume the responsibility of providing means to pay the troops, but threw it on the towns, thus virtually acknowledging the termination of their own authority; and to complete the tissue of absurdity, the soldiers were required to provide their own arms! Surely there was a God above, and virtue in the people.

Church and Philip had appeared as principal actors at the commencement of this terrific drama, and now on the same spot, they assumed the great parts in the catastrophe.

Church
seeks a
command.

Church had been treated by the government of Plymouth with ingratitude, insult, and neglect; his advice was scorned; his services underrated; and he was not even offered a command. His lofty spirit could not well brook such slights. He retired in disgust to his family. Despairing of obtaining any employment from the government, he resumed the management of his own affairs, which had been neglected. In attempting to use a knife for some trifling purpose, he wounded his fingers; regarding this unimportant accident as an indication of the will of Providence that he should undertake no ordinary business while this war continued, he threw down the knife, and immediately repaired to Plymouth. The court were then holding their annual June session. Notwithstanding

former misunderstandings, they received him with much cordiality, as they had just resolved to raise two hundred soldiers, two thirds being English and the remainder Indian, and they needed his assistance in raising the men. As the court had now adopted the plan which they had formerly derided and rejected, although the number of soldiers to be raised was not so great as Church had originally proposed, yet he now undertook the service with great cheerfulness, and engaged to return to Rhode Island; hoping to enlist some of the people of Swansey and Dartmouth who had been driven from their homes, and now lived there without employment. Returning by the way of Seconnesset,* he there engaged two Indians to paddle him in a canoe from the Elizabeth Islands to Rhode Island. While passing round the long point of Saconet, where he had formerly lived, he discovered several Indians, whom he had once known, engaged in fishing on the shore. He had always supposed that he could detach the Saconet Indians from the confederacy, by obtaining an interview with them; and he also believed that they never would have joined Philip, if the sudden breaking out of the war had not prevented him from returning to them. Desirous of having some discourse with these Indians, who made signs as though they wished to speak with him, he directed his Indians to pass near the shore. He was still unwilling to venture himself amongst the hostile Indians.—They seemed extremely anxious to obtain an interview, and laid down their guns to convince him of their peaceable intentions. After requesting two of them to go down on a long point of cleared land, where there could be no ambush, he ventured to go on shore, and hauling his canoe on the beach,

Saconet
Indians
anxious
for peace,
Church
attempts
to gain
them.

* Falmouth, Cape Cod.

directed one of his own Indians to stay by it, and the other to act as a sentinel. Church was well acquainted with George, one of the Saconet Indians who spoke English well. George told him that his tribe were weary of the war, that they had taken up arms at the instigation of Philip, but they saw no benefit in continuing hostilities, and that he had sought this interview with the design of obtaining his friendly intercession with the governor of Plymouth; that his countrymen only wished to live quietly amongst the English in their wonted manner, and that if they could be pardoned, they would give up their arms, and even go out under his command, and fight the enemies of the English; and he desired another conference at such time and place as Church should appoint. Church promised to meet them in two days, at Richmond's farm near Saconet.—He returned to Rhode Island, and solicited the governor's permission to treat, proposing that Daniel Wilcox, who understood the Indian language, should accompany him; but the governor refused his request, alleging that it would be an act of madness to trust himself amongst the Saconets. Nevertheless Church was true to his engagement. After an affectionate parting with his wife, he took a bottle of rum and a roll of tobacco, and accompanied by his servant and two other Indians, he set out and reached the appointed spot; there he found Awashonks, the Sunke Squaw or queen, and several of her Indians, who all gave him their hands, and addressed him with much apparent friendliness of manner. Having walked a short distance from the shore, a large body of armed Indians, painted and trimmed, and in warlike array, suddenly rose from amongst the high grass in which they had been concealed. Church immediately said to Awashonks that he supposed her object to have been a treaty of peace, to which remark she replied

in the affirmative ; he then expressed his surprise that her people should come with arms in their hands when their object was pacific ; Awashonks asked him what arms they should lay down ? Church perceiving that the Indians were murmuring, and eyeing him with ferocious countenances, replied, ‘ only their guns at some small distance for formality’s sake.’ Hearing this they laid their guns aside and quietly seated themselves. Church pouring some rum into a shell, drank of it, and offered it to Awashonks who watched him narrowly, that she might ascertain whether he swallowed it or not. She requested him to drink again ; discovering her suspicion, he poured some into the hollow of his hand and sipped it, and then taking the shell drank freely ; Awashonks then dismissing her fears also drank, the liquor passed round, and the tobacco was distributed. She then expressed her regret that he had not visited her according to his promise, which visit she thought would have prevented her people from engaging in the war. He replied that the sudden and unexpected commencement of hostilities prevented him ; that desirous of seeing her he came as far as Punkateese, but was there attacked by the Indians and compelled to encounter great numbers of them with only nineteen men. On hearing this, the Indians began to murmur, and one of them approaching Church, threatened his life, saying that he had killed his brother at Punkateese ; Church replied that his brother was the aggressor, and if he had remained quiet at Saconet according to his wish and advice, he would not have been injured. At last they acknowledged the truth of his assertions, and their chief captain causing silence to be made, forbade them to call up old affairs, and they began in earnest to treat of peace, of which they were very desirous. They solemnly promised Church that they would not only abandon, but would

Church
succeeds in
gaining
the Saco-
net In-
dians on
condition
they
should be
pardoned.

go out with him to fight Philip, if through his intercession their pardon could be obtained, their transportation prevented, and their lives spared. As solemnly did Church promise to use all his influence and exertions to obtain these favors, and he faithfully kept his word.

The chief captain then addressing Church with great respect, said, 'Sir, if you will please to accept of me and my men, and will head us, we will fight for you, and will help you to Philip's head before the Indian corn be ripe;' to this they all assented, expressing to Church their great love for him, and their willingness to fight under his command. Church assured them that he would be a friend to them and their children. He then proposed to them that five messengers should be sent with him through the woods, to Plymouth; to this proposal they objected, fearing that they might be intercepted by Philip's Indians and killed, and the whole design frustrated, but suggested a passage by water in an English vessel, in which the messengers could embark at Saconet point; to this arrangement Church agreed, and returned to Rhode Island to obtain a vessel, but he met with much difficulty; all were so fearful of Indian treachery that they would not undertake the voyage. Captain Anthony Low of Swansey, a bold mariner, coming into the harbor of Newport, application was made to him, and he cheerfully engaged, notwithstanding his vessel was laden with a full cargo. Church embarking with Low, sailed for the point. When he arrived there, the wind was directly ahead, and the sea ran so high, that it was with great difficulty that Peter Awashonks, the son of the queen, got on board; a storm coming on, the captain was compelled to run his vessel up the eastern passage, and returned on the other side of the Island to Newport. Church, whose deep sense of religion led him to refer every accident to the special interposition

of Providence, took this disappointment as an indication of the divine displeasure, and gave up the voyage. He wrote an account of the 'whole transaction,' and of his agreement with the Indians, and sent Peter, (by the way of Saconet,) to the governor of Plymouth.

Shortly after, Major Bradford with the whole Plymouth force, arrived at Pocasset, of which Church was immediately informed; repairing to the camp, he communicated to this commander all his transactions with the Saconet Indians, and then sought an interview with Awashonks, with the design of inducing her to visit Major Bradford. He advised her to call in all her people, lest they might be harmed, exhorted her to trust in the faith of the English, and to dismiss all fear; Church then returned to the army, and on the next morning Bradford moved down to Punkateese, half way between Pocasset and Saconet, with his whole force. Church with a few men again set out to visit Awashonks at her quarters, to invite her to a conference; on his way he captured a Pocasset Indian, and saw several others, with whom he did not interfere; he learned from his captive that his mother and some other Indians were concealed in a swamp above Nomquid;* he sent him with two men as a guard to Major Bradford. Awashonks collected her people, and repaired to Punkateese. Church offered to serve under Bradford if he might be permitted to command the Indians; this offer was peremptorily declined, and the queen was ordered under penalty to appear at Sandwich within six days. Mortified at the distrust of the English commander, the Indians expressed their dissatisfaction to Church, but he advised them to obey, and promised to meet them at Sandwich in a week, and withal expressed his perfect confidence in

Awashonks with the Saconet Indians visits Major Bradford.

* In Tiverton.

being able to obtain authority from the governor to enlist and to command them. The Indians, somewhat reassured, marched away accompanied by Jack Havens, an Indian who had never been concerned in any hostilities against the English, bearing a flag of truce. Church then went out with Toby his captive, and succeeded in taking the Indians at Nomquid. On the next morning, the army moved back to Pocasset. Church had learned from Toby that a party of three hundred, consisting partly of Mount Hopes, partly of Narragansetts, and partly of Weetamore's warriors, were at Weepoiset, and that Philip was expected there in four days. Animated by this intelligence, he urged Bradford, who had now embarked his soldiers in boats, to visit Weepoiset, and break up their quarters. It being evening, they could plainly discern the Indian fires, but Bradford construed his orders literally, by which he was directed to go to Mount Hope and *there* to fight Philip and regardless of the advice and remonstrances of Church, ordered his boats to bear away for the Mount; finding no enemy there, he moved forward to Rehoboth, and there, Church taking one Sabin for a guide, set off for Plymouth with the design of fulfilling his promise to the Saconet Indians. He obtained an interview with the governor, and was thanked for his services, all his engagements were confirmed, and he was promised a commission, authorizing him to command the allied Indians. He took a few men, amongst whom were Jabez Howland and Nathaniel Southworth, and in the hope of meeting Awashonks, proceeded to Sandwich. Not finding her there, he went to Agawam,* but being again disappointed, some of his men were disheartened and returned, six of them engaged to go on; when they arrived at

Church goes to Plymouth to obtain a pardon for the Saconet Indians.

* In Wareham.

Sippican river,* Howland was too much fatigued to go further, and he was left at the river with two others. They crossed Metapoiset river,† and soon opened on a great bay,‡ where they could see many miles along shore. Hearing a loud noise immediately below them, and near the sea, they dismounted and looked over a low cliff. On the sea beach they descried a great number of Indians; some were racing horses on the beach, some were engaged in the game of football, and others in fishing. Church was uncertain whether they were enemies or friends, but at length retiring into the thicket, he hailed them; two who were mounted came with great speed to ascertain from whom the call proceeded, but discovering Englishmen armed, they retreated, and it was with much difficulty and by making his name known, that Church induced them to return. He then learned that it was Awashonks and her tribe, ‘and that Jack Havens was with them;’ he sent for Jack, and having certainly ascertained that Awashonks was there, invited several mounted Indians who had now come up, to go with him, to search for Howland, who had been left at Sippican. Finding him safe, they all returned to Awashonks, and were received with great joy and shouting. They supped luxuriously on fish, and then a huge fire being kindled, the queen and several of her old men kneeled in a circle around the fire, the others standing around them. The chief captain armed with a spear and tomahawk, passed within the inner circle, and began to dance around the fire; then repeating the names of all the Indian nations who were enemies of the English, he drew a brand from the fire, which he whirled round with great fury, and then laid it aside; in this manner he continued his dance until he had drawn

Church's
interview
with the
Saconet
Indians.

Saconet
Indians
engage
them-
selves to
Church.

* In Rochester.

† Also in Rochester.

‡ Buzzard's Bay.

from the fire as many brands as he had named tribes ; leaving his spear and tomahawk, he then quitted the circle, and another chief repeated the same ceremony, which was performed by several others.

The captain informed Church that this was their mode of engaging soldiers, and was analogous to the oath of the English ; that the largest and most powerful men were now engaged, and were holden to obey his commands. Awashonks presented Church with a fine musket, and he having selected a number of the Indians, marched with them to Plymouth, and soon completed his company, a number of English having volunteered to serve with them. He received a commission, by which he was authorized to increase his company to the number of sixty Englishmen and one hundred and forty Indians, and to appoint his lieutenants, serjeants, corporals, &c. ; this commission was dated July 24, 1676. In this manner his original plan of fighting with a combined force of English and Indians, which had been rejected with scorn, was carried into effect. Being received into favor, these Indians ever after evinced the most exemplary fidelity, and rendered important services to the colony. They were not of Philip's particular tribe, but the queen was nearly related to him.

Philip's
sorrow at
the defec-
tion of
Awash-
onks.

When Philip heard of the defection of Awashonks and the Saconet tribe, he was never known to smile, or to evince the slightest symptom of pleasure. It seemed as though his evil destiny had overtaken him, and that the day of his destruction was at hand, and that in future he was to be hunted through the woods like a wild beast by open enemies and treacherous friends.

Church
attacks a
party of

Church now took the field* with a company of eighteen Englishmen and twentytwo Indians, and reached Middle-

* July 25th.

borough before the dawn of day. As soon as it was light, his company went in pursuit of a party of Narragansetts, and discovering their situation by the light of their fires, surrounded and completely surprised them; not one escaped. From them they learned that there was another party of the enemy at Monponset pond. Encumbered with his prisoners, Church was fearful of proceeding, and hastened back to Plymouth, where he disposed of all excepting one who was called Jeffry, whom he retained as his particular servant, and who served him faithfully until his death.

Narragansetts near Namasket and captures them.

After concluding a hard bargain with the government of Plymouth; they engaging to supply him and his company with provisions and ammunition, on condition of receiving one half of his prisoners, the English soldiers to have the remainder, and the Indians the loose plunder. Church again marched to attack the enemy at Monponset, and captured every one.

The hard terms of the Plymouth government.

In this manner he continued to bring in prisoners constantly; he lost not a moment; he was always in motion. 'When he wanted intelligence,' he stationed some of his men at a pass where there was much travelling, scattering the remainder all around in close ambush, and generally succeeded in taking some prisoners; in this way he was enabled to turn the Indian mode of warfare against them, and to surprise them continually.

Church's mode of gaining intelligence.

The government of Plymouth being now compelled to acknowledge the merit and capacity of Church, enlarged his commission, giving him ample discretionary powers, 'to raise and dismiss his forces' at pleasure; to appoint and commission his officers, and to march anywhere 'within the limits of the three United Colonies; to receive to mercy, give quarter or not, excepting some particular and noted murderers; namely, Philip, and all that

His commission enlarged.

Attacks
the In-
dians at
Namas-
ket.

were at the destroying of Mr Clark's garrison, and some few others.' After receiving this enlarged commission, he again went out, but he was first required by this economical government to guard some carts which were laden with provisions for Major Bradford's army which then lay at Taunton, he obtained other guards as far as Middleborough, (Namasket) stipulating to take charge of them again, there. He marched on, and at daylight discovered a party of the enemy at Namasket; being pressed for time he instantly attacked them without his usual precautions, but succeeded in capturing the whole, being sixteen; from them he learned that Tispaquin a chief of much notoriety, was in Assawompset neck,* with a large party, but he was restrained from going in pursuit of him because the carts must be guarded. Vexed at the loss of this opportunity, he proceeded reluctantly with the carts until he reached the Taunton river, and then despatching two of his men to Major Bradford, who was at a tavern in Taunton with his captains, requested a guard for them back to Plymouth, and refused an invitation to join Bradford at the tavern.

Goes in
pursuit
of Tis-
paquin.

The guard was sent, and under their care he placed his prisoners, directing them to proceed through Bridgewater. He then marched for Assawompset neck; when he reached the river which united the ponds at the entrance of the neck,* he was fired on by some Indians, who were posted in a thick swamp; Church's Indians ran upon them, but the enemy escaped in the darkness; marching a mile into the neck he halted, and his horses were suffered to feed, a strict watch being kept as the enemy were within hearing on all sides. Church somewhat apprehensive of being

* Between the ponds in Middleborough.

† Near Sampson's tavern in Middleborough.

hemmed in on this neck, which was nearly surrounded with water, ordered his company when the enemy were still, to move on, and to pass out of the neck towards Acushnet, as it was one of his rules while on these enterprises never to return by the same path. 'As they had now been two days and one night without rest or sleep,' after crossing Acushnet river, and posting a guard at the passage, and finding a suitable place for the horses to feed, and placing sentinels around the company,—all threw themselves on the ground, and soon fell into a deep sleep; so weary were they with incessant marching, that the sentinels soon slumbered as soundly as the others. Church first awoke, and rousing his men, sent a party to the guard who had been posted at the river, they discovered a party of the enemy who were examining their tracks; Church and his men dispersed into the thickets, and the party proceeded to the river, where they found the guard overcome with watching, asleep; being awakened, they soon became sensible of their danger, and joined their companions, but the enemy remaining quiet, a hasty repast was snatched from their knapsacks, and then while one party guarded the horses, the other went out to scout; falling on a track, they pursued it until they discovered Little Eyes and his family, and some other Saconet Indians who had abandoned their countrymen, when peace was made with the English.—Some of Church's Indians urged him to put Little Eyes to death, as he had threatened his life at the commencement of the war, and he could now be revenged; but Church rejected their advice, and told them that the English never revenged. Finding an old canoe at the river side, he ordered Little Eyes and his party to be conveyed to an island in the river, and left Lightfoot and one of his own Indians with him to save his life in case he was discovered

by any other Englishmen. He then marched towards Aponeganset, and halted near Russel's orchard, and he and his men lay down in a thicket during the night. In the morning they discovered some of the enemy, and found by their traces, that a numerous party had lodged in the orchard during the night. Church ordered an immediate pursuit; after marching three miles they came to a point in the country road where the track dividing, encircled a large cedar swamp.—Here Church proposed to his Indians to divide and try their fortune in the different tracks, urging them to overcome the doubts and prejudices of their enemies amongst the English, by proving their prowess when acting by themselves. At first the Indians were reluctant to separate themselves from the English, but finally consented; the ruins of John Cook's house at Acushena was appointed as the rendezvous, and the two parties set out on different tracks. Church and his party moved on briskly until he was informed by William Fobes one of his men who was in the rear, that a large body of Indians were discovered, who were gathering berries across the swamp.—Church supposing them to be mostly women, called Delano, (who spoke the Indian language) and Barnes a nother of his men, to his side, and spurring their horses, the three drove through the swamp.

Attacks
the In-
dians near
Apon-
ganset,
and takes
many pri-
soners.

A Indian woman and her husband who had lived peaceably on Rhode Island, (but had been compelled in consequence of the fears of the people, to depart from the island,) knew Church and remembered that he had interposed to prevent them from being molested; as soon as she saw him she recollected him, and ran towards him, calling him by name. Church told her to assure the Indians who were then flying in every direction, to stop and surrender, and their lives should be spared.—

Many of them did so, but others continuing to run, he pursued them on horseback. Overtaking one he snatched his gun from him, and suddenly turning his head, perceived that none of his company were with him excepting Delano, who was busily employed in taking prisoners. Driving their prisoners before them, they moved back and found the whole company still standing on the spot where the attack was made, alarmed and frightened. Having lost sight of Church, they supposed he had been killed and were uncertain how to proceed. They now ascertained that they had killed and captured sixtysix of the enemy, part of them being Philip's people, part Qunnappins, and some Narragansetts.

Church ascertained from the squaw that both Philip and Qunnappin were only two miles distant, 'in the great cedar swamp,' which was full of Indians, and that a hundred had gone down into Sconticut neck to kill cattle and obtain provision.—The squaw was much alarmed lest Church should pass into the neck, fearing he might be cut off, but learning from her the place where Philip's Indians had crossed the river, he passed down in a lower direction to conceal his track, and going with Delano to the island where Lightfoot and Little Eyes had been left, Lightfoot corroborated the story of the Squaw; he had seen the Indians passing down the neck and now pointed them out to Church as they were returning; to observe them more closely, Church and Delano went into a meadow through which they had passed on their downward march; there they concealed themselves. The Indians entering the meadow halted, and Church had then an opportunity to ascertain their numbers; fortunate indeed was it for him that his caution induced him to pass down in such a direction that they did not cross his track, for had he been pursued by them he must have fought at the hazard of

Marches
to Scon-
ticut,
(now
Fair-
haven.)

Allied Indians take sixtythree prisoners.

defeat, and almost with the certainty of losing all his prisoners. As soon as the Indians were out of sight, Lightfoot was despatched to the island to bring off the prisoners, and Church and Delano returned to the company, which marched into the meadow; taking their prisoners they hastened on, and crossing the track of Philip's Indians, reached the Metapoiset river, of which they effected a passage and then halted. Delano and two others were sent to Cook's house to ascertain the fate of their Indian allies, for whom they waited until a late hour in the night; these Indians had killed three and taken sixtythree of the enemy, sixtysix being precisely the number which the English had taken. This equality in success, Church as usual referred to Providence, which had in this manner prevented both parties from boasting and triumphing over each other, but the Indians had taken more arms than the English; they regretted however, that they had separated from the English, inasmuch as the united force might have captured the whole of Tyask's company, which these Indians encountered and dispersed and captured the wife and son of Tyask. They then joined Church at Metapoiset, and all returned to Plymouth.

Escape of Church.

It was afterwards ascertained that on the night of this day, Philip had sent a large force to waylay Church at the entrance of Assawompset neck, and had it not been for his caution in avoiding always on his return to take the path which he had previously travelled, in all probability his career would have been terminated.

Church continues to gain the Indians.

Church continued in this manner to harass the Indians, and to bring in prisoners. As he had now by constant intercourse and close observation, gained a thorough knowledge of their wild but simple character, his daring courage, constant cheerfulness, and continual success, pro-

duced amongst his followers a sentiment like veneration. Although the temper of the Indian is gloomy, yet he is easily captivated by the vivacity of others, and hence the French have been more successful in gaining the hearts of these sons of the forest than any other Europeans. The fearless cheerfulness of Church while encountering dangers of the most terrific character, and hardships which even they, accustomed as they were to woods and swamps, and tempests, and sleepless nights, and want of food, could scarcely endure, gave them an impression that he was invincible.

It was his custom to select the hardiest and boldest amongst his prisoners, however sulky and revengeful they might be at first, he never failed at length to gain their affections and secure their services, and so implicit was their obedience, that they would frequently fight for him against their nearest kindred. He also adopted in a great degree their mode of warfare. Instead of marching as the English usually did, he scattered his men wide apart, he separated them into small parties, following the Indian mode of ambushing and surprising. By his talent in acquiring information from his captives of the haunts and movements of the enemy, he frequently disconcerted their best planned enterprises and turned their own mode of warfare with dire success upon themselves. In this way the English were spared, and the unfortunate Indians preyed on each other.

The main body of the Plymouth forces under the command of Major Bradford still continued at Taunton. Philip fearing to attempt the passage of the Taunton river while they remained, was now confined between that river and the sea, but his parties being so vigorously attacked by Church on the south, he had moved northerly towards Bridgewater but still remained on the left bank of the river.

Philip hemmed in between Taunton river and Plymouth.

Church
marches
to attack
Philip.

A messenger came on Sunday to the governor of Plymouth, (who was at Marshfield) with information that the sachem of Mount Hope with all his forces was attempting to retreat over Taunton river, with a view as it was supposed to attack the towns of Taunton and Bridgewater. The governor hastened to Plymouth and engaged some men for an expedition, and sending for Church who was attending divine service, desired him instantly to collect as many as he could, and to go out in pursuit of Philip. Finding no bread in the store house, so ardent was the zeal of Church that he begged it from house to house, and obtaining some commenced his march. Supposing that Philip might be at Bridgewater, he took the messenger for a guide and moved rapidly on. In the evening a firing of musketry was heard, but it soon ceased and Church continued his march to Bridgewater. He there ascertained that Philip had arrived at the Taunton river on that day (July 31.) The news of his approach having been spread, a small party marched from Bridgewater to prevent his passage. A large tree having been felled across the river served as a bridge; while passing and preparing to pass, the Bridgewater soldiers fell suddenly upon Philip's party and killed some of his best friends, his uncle Akompoin was killed on the tree while standing near him, and had Philip's person been known, he probably on that day would have met with his fate, but he assumed so many and such different disguises, that it was impossible to ascertain his person.

Bridge-
water peo-
ple pre-
vent Phil-
ip from
effecting
the pas-
sage of
Taunton
river.

Church
attacks
Philip and
captures
his wife
and son.

On the next day the Bridgewater soldiers went out with Church and guided him to the spot where they had attacked Philip. The sachem was still on the eastern side of the river, having been unable to effect his passage. Church discovered an Indian seated on the stump of the tree which had been felled for the bridge, and raising his

musket took deliberate aim, but one of his own Indians exclaiming that it was a friend, he desisted; the savage turned his head and Church then saw it was Philip. He fired, but unsuccessfully, and Philip leaping down the bank escaped. Church then crossed the river with his men and commenced a pursuit. He secured many prisoners amongst whom were the wife and son of Philip, the son was a youth only of nine years. Having ascertained from the prisoners that it was the intention of Philip to fly to the Narragansett country, he followed his track in close pursuit, leaving a part of his company to guard the prisoners. He marched rapidly along the bank of the river to prevent his passage:—having proceeded several miles he ascertained from the traces, that the Indians had effected it; although he and his company were streaming with perspiration, they plunged into the water and passed to the other side, and having followed the track for sometime, and finding the attempt to overtake the enemy was in vain, they halted and resolved to return to the prisoners. Church's Indians having ascertained that the party which had escaped were Narragansetts, were anxious to continue the pursuit, as they were eager to revenge the death of Tockamona the brother of Awashonks, who had been recently killed by some of that tribe; they went on, and the next morning returned, bringing in thirteen prisoners. Church sent the prisoners to Bridgewater, and continued to send out his scouts; the scouts having discovered a new track, he placed his Indians in front and pursued, giving them directions to inform him when any discovery was made, by a low whistle, for he resolved to ascertain the strength of the enemy before he ventured to attack them. The allied Indians found many straggling women and children whom they sent to the rear. A little before sunset, Church's vanguard dis-

Philip effects the passage of Taunton river.

Church's Saconet Indians attack the Narragansetts' and take 13 prisoners.

Fight between Philip and Church.

covered the enemy in a swamp, and where they were preparing to kindle their night fires. Church approaching with great caution silently surrounded the swamp, intending to defer his attack till daylight. He threatened his prisoners with death if they made the least noise. When the day dawned, he told the prisoners that as he was preparing to attack the enemy he must leave them without a guard, that it was in vain for them to attempt to escape, that he should soon succeed in exterminating all his enemies, but if they would remain quiet and follow his track, and again join him after the fight was over, their lives should be spared. He then prepared for the onset, and sent out two of his soldiers to gain an accurate knowledge of the enemy's position. Philip had also sent out a scout of two who discovering the others, fled with loud yells towards his camp. Alarmed by the noise Philip and his party leaving the provisions which they were preparing, ran further into the swamp. Church despatching Isaac Howland with a party to the other side of the swamp, plunged in himself and pursued, believing that Philip when repelled by Howland on the other side, would retrace his track:— he penetrated through the swamp and joined Howland, without seeing Philip. Discovering a large number well armed to be emerging from the swamp in another direction, he hailed them, saying, if a single shot were fired, that all should be put to death, that they was surrounded but should have quarter on surrendering. So great was their dismay and confusion, that many of them holding loaded guns in their hands were unable to discharge them, and suffered themselves to be shot down and captured without resisting. Philip, Tispaquin, and Totoson, ignorant of the fate of this party, attempted with another party to waylay Church in another part of the swamp, but he suspecting their intentions, after he had secured his prisoners by

placing them in a little valley under the care of a guard, penetrated again into the swamp with a small party who concealed themselves behind trees. Philip at this time anxious to ascertain the fate of the party which had already been captured, left his own ambush and ran into Church's; being fired upon, a lively skirmish commenced but he at length retreated on his own track. One Lucas an Englishman of Plymouth, exposing himself too much was killed. Philip and Tispaquin escaped. During the fight, Church attended by two men, intercepted three of the enemy; two surrendered, the third who from his great size and peculiar costume, was thought to be Totoson, ran further into the swamp. Church pursued, but his gun missing fire, the Indian turned and presented, he also missed fire, he then turned to run, but entangling his feet with a grape vine, fell, Church came up, and drove the muzzle of his gun through his scull into his brains; having despatched him, he beheld the real Totoson followed by some others, furiously approaching, but the prisoners' guard in whose sight the whole affair happened, anxious to save their captain, fired on the Indians, although they endangered him by the fire, and they fled.

In this fight with the loss of only one man, the English captured and killed one hundred and seventythree of the enemy including those who were left unguarded, and who afterwards voluntarily returned to them.

Church
takes 173
prisoners
but Philip
escapes.

Church and his company returned to Bridgewater, where they were received with enthusiastic joy. The prisoners were secured in the town pound* under an Indian guard, and being filled with good cheer, which they had not found of late, they indulged themselves in festivity, and lost the remembrance of their misfortunes while enjoying the luxury of a plentiful supper.

Church
returns to
Bridge-
water
with his
prisoners.

* In West Bridgewater.

During this scene of rejoicing and triumph, one of Church's Indians said to him, 'sir you have now made Philip ready to die, for you have made him as poor and miserable as he used to make the English; you have now killed or taken all his relations. We believe you will soon have his head, and this affair has almost broken his heart.'

On the next day Church marched with all his prisoners to Plymouth. While he was thus constantly engaged in these fatiguing expeditions, Major Bradford lay quietly at Taunton with his whole army!

All the Indians at this time seemed utterly disheartened. Many of those who had submitted, were by the generous and unsuspecting Church, received into his company and frequently proved themselves to be the most serviceable of his soldiers, as they were well acquainted with all the lurking places of their former confederates.

Pursuit
and death
of Totoson
sachem of
Agawam.

He disbanded his soldiers and rested from his labors, worn out with incessant marches, wading rivers and swamps, penetrating forests, and constant night watches. His health became seriously impaired, but news being soon received that the enemy had been discovered in the Dartmouth woods, he rallied his Indians, and being joined by several English volunteers, he divided them into several parties, and his Lieutenant, Jabez Howland, captured several of the enemy; from them he received intelligence of Totoson, and succeeded in surprising him, but Totoson, his son, and a squaw, escaped to Agawam* his own country. Amongst others they captured one Sam Barrow a noted Indian who had been concerned in many attacks on the English. Church told him to prepare for death as the court permitted no mercy to be extended to him, he replied 'that his sentence was just, and that

* In Wareham.

he was ashamed to live any longer,' and merely begged the favor of being permitted to smoke, he finished his pipe, and turning to them with the most stoical indifference said he was ready, and one of Church's Indians despatched him with a tomahawk. After Totoson reached Agawam his son fell sick, this completed his misfortunes, and he died of a broken heart.

In July all the churches in the colony at the instigation of the General Court, 'solemnly renewed the covenant with God and one another, on a day of humiliation appointed for that purpose, wherein, after confession of the prevailing evils of the times, they entered into strict engagements through the assistance of divine grace, for personal and family reformation. The children of the church bore a part in this transaction.

General
fast.

None better knew than the Puritans, the efficacy of devotion and special and solemn appeals to the throne of God, to strengthen the heart to meet calamities and dangers.

On the sixth of August, an Indian fled to Taunton, and seeking to make terms for himself, offered to conduct the English to a party of the enemy, representing that they might be taken with little difficulty or danger. Twenty of the Tauntonians ventured out and surprised and captured the whole, being twentysix.

Exploit of
the Taun-
tonians.

The squaw sachem of Pocasset, attempted to escape by crossing the river on a raft. Her body was afterwards found at Metapoiset.* It could not be determined whether she perished by drowning or otherwise. Her head was cut off and set on a pole at Taunton to the great grief of many of her subjects who were there as prisoners. Such was the unfortunate fate and miserable end of Weetamore.

Death of
Weeta-
more
squaw sa-
chem of
Pocasset.

* Gardner's neck, Swansey:

She was averse to the war, but yielded to the importunity of her people and the persuasions of Philip.

Death and
character
of Philip.

Philip was now sorely pressed by his fate, his confederates had abandoned him; his faithless friends had betrayed him; his brother, and the most faithful of his followers had fallen in his battles; his uncle had been killed by his side; his wife and only son were in the hands of the English; his dominion once spread so wide, was now contracted to the narrow limits of a diurnal march; he was hunted from wood to wood, and from swamp to swamp; from his lair in the deepest recesses of the forests, to the sea-side and again to the swamps. He dared not trust himself among the distant Indians on Connecticut river, for they cursed him as the author of their misfortunes; or amongst the Mohawks, for they were the mortal enemies of his race; yet so stubborn and relentless was his temper, and so determined was he in his animosity to the English, that he put one of his followers to death for daring to speak of peace. He felt full confidence in his personal safety, as his priests had constantly assured him that the English could not kill him. A kinsman of his victim resenting his death, fled to Rhode Island and gave information to Major Sandford and Capt. Golding of the place of his concealment.

Notwithstanding the severe fatigues which Church had undergone, he had been induced by the particular solicitations of Gov. Winslow, to undertake an expedition to range the woods of Pocasset into which it was supposed Philip had retired; but the English captain not being able to discover any trace of his enemy, passed over to Rhode Island, and as his wife resided at Sandford's house he made it his head quarters. Sandford and Golding communicated to him the information which they had just received, from which he ascertained that Philip's hiding

place was in a swamp near Mount Hope.* After all his wanderings, like the wild deer, he had returned to his natal spot to die.

Animated with the hope of terminating the war, by the capture of this dreaded enemy, Church immediately commenced his march to the ferry, with that part of his company who had accompanied him, and joined the remainder who were posted there.

The fugitive Indian offered his services as a guide. The whole company, English and Indians passed the ferry accompanied by Golding and Sandford. Golding led the van.

The fugitive informed them that Philip's company had taken possession of a small knoll on the margin of a miry swamp. Golding and his party were directed to approach Philip's quarters in silence, creeping at length on the ground, and to be very careful not to shew themselves before daylight. If they were discovered, the cry of the enemy was to be the signal for firing and fighting; if the enemy fled they were to be pursued with shouts. Church conjectured that they would fly directly into the swamp, and there he placed the remainder of his company in ambush behind trees, and spread wide apart an Englishman and an Indian together. To Capt. Williams of Scituate, the command of the right wing was given; the knoll being completely invested, Church said to Major Sandford, 'I have so placed them it is scarcely possible that Philip can escape;' while speaking a shot was heard and then a volley. Golding seeing an Indian and fearing that he was discovered, fired prematurely. At the moment of the surprise, Philip was relating to his friends a dream which had troubled him in the night, and which as it placed him in the hands of the English, seemed somewhat ominous of his fate. Without resisting, he and his followers attempt-

* In the ancient Swansey, now Barrington.

ed to escape. Philip plunging into the swamp, ran directly upon two of Church's men. The Englishman, Francis Cooke, who was stationed at a pass with Alderman a Saconet Indian, aimed at him, his gun missed fire; he bade the Indian fire which he did, and Philip bounding from the ground fell flat upon his face in the mire of the swamp, one of the balls of Alderman's gun having penetrated his lungs, and the other his heart. He was instantly dragged from the swamp; his person was identified from scars on a hand which had been badly wounded by the bursting of a pistol; his head and wounded hand were severed from his body, which was divided into quarters; the hand was preserved in a pail of rum by Alderman, who afterwards exhibited it through the country.

On the other side of the swamp, the Indians discovering that they were waylaid, and animated by Annawan, Philip's chief captain, turned upon their enemies, and fighting valiantly, effected their escape through some of the unguarded passes.

In this rencontre, five Indians were killed, amongst whom was a son of the chief captain.

Thus fell Metacomet, sometimes called Pumatarkeam, the sachem of Mount Hope, or Pokanoket, better known by his English name of Philip, the most illustrious savage of North America,—the most powerful enemy that was ever encountered by the English settlers, and who came near to exterminating the whole English race in New England.

The most abusive epithets have been lavished upon this celebrated and unfortunate Indian; he is called 'a caittiff,' 'a hellish monster,' 'a damnable wretch,' a 'bloody villain;' even his generous conqueror (when describing his appearance after he had been dragged from the swamp) in his quaint language says, 'he was a doleful, great,

dirty beast ;' yet we have well attested instances of his tenderness of feeling, gratitude, and generosity. Our information respecting Philip comes from those who were his bitterest enemies ; and who amongst the English of New England was not his enemy ? There was scarcely a family in Plymouth, Massachusetts, or Connecticut, who had not been compelled to mourn the loss of a relative or friend who had fallen in the war. The historians of the times, for such an enemy, and a heathen too, could find neither charity, nor candor ; and with feelings of mingled resentment and grief, have they delineated his character, and transmitted to posterity the story of his life and actions ; as they wrote in a temper stern and revengeful, the traits they presented were hideous and disgusting, but some facts have escaped which relieve and soften the expression of the historical portrait, and compel us to believe that in some respects it has been the work of fancy.

At the commencement of the war, when Philip's young men were raging for a victim, he saved the life of Mr Brown of Swansey, because his father had charged him to be grateful for former kindness. Tradition says he wept when he heard of the death of the first Englishman who fell in this horrible war ; why should the iron heart of this stern savage have gushed out in tears, when he himself was unquestionably the instigator of the war, and the aggressor ? The long connexion and friendship which had existed not only between him and the English, but between them and his father also, and his father's repeated injunctions came into his remembrance ; he foresaw the terrible scene of havoc and blood, of which the war must necessarily be productive, for he had resolved it should be a war of extermination, and he sickened at the contemplation of his own designs. The numberless sympathies

which the recollection of a long and familiar intercourse brings up in the mind, when that intercourse is about to be dissolved, and those who had once been friends are about to become savage enemies, must have stimulated his feelings into this excess of grief. His gratitude to the Leonards indicates a feeling transcending the ordinary limits of human kindness, for it averted hostilities from an entire settlement, which lay in his way, and might have been destroyed without much difficulty or danger. In short, his vices were those of a savage; the example of his virtues might have profited the statesmen and patriots of civilized society.

His talents were unquestionably of the first order. As a politician he was the greatest of savages. He clearly foresaw that the spreading dominion of the English, their arts, their knowledge, their discipline, and their constant numerical increase would inevitably result in the expulsion of the aborigines from the lands of their fathers. In vain he attempted to prevent the sales of the land, in vain he remonstrated with the governor of Plymouth, he saw at length distinctly, that the period had arrived when the two races could not exist together, and as clearly did he foresee that the English power if not destroyed, would advance with the certainty of the tide, and with the force of the torrent. He intended to have stricken the blow in season. With the deepest dissimulation, he amused the English until he had formed nearly all the Indian tribes of New England into a general confederacy. His success in forming this league proves him to have been deeply versed in all the arts of savage policy. He overcame obstacles from which the most enterprising minds would have shrunk. He allayed the jealousies of some; he quieted the suspicions of others; his blandishments even healed those diseased minds which once inflamed by resentment, had been hardened into revenge.

He reconciled long enduring, hereditary animosities, and although he was the chief of one of the smallest of the tribes, yet he possessed the art and the address to bring the whole to participate in his views, and to act under his command and direction.

Many frightful stories have been told of the cruelties with which his warfare was disgraced, yet it is very doubtful whether he ever ordered a single captive to be tortured. Hubbard and Mather suspected it, but the fact has been verified by no evidence, and surely amongst the many captives who were taken, amongst the many Indians who after fighting on the side of Philip deserted him, and allied themselves to the English, some one would have been found by whom such acts could have been proved, if any such had been committed. After his flight from Pocasset at the commencement of the war, and in the numberless skirmishes, marches, and fights, which ensued until the fight on Taunton river a short time previous to his death, no Englishman could say that he had seen the face or heard the voice of Philip. Some suspected that he was in the Narragansett fort at the time of that great fight; others supposed that he had passed the winter amongst the strange Indians who dwelt on the banks of the Hudson; others conjectured that he had sheltered himself in Canada; this studious desire of concealment might indicate a want of courage, but it must be recollected that he was exposed to more than the ordinary dangers of war; a price had been set on his head, and the disguises which he assumed were no more than necessary expedients to enable him to encounter the extraordinary perils to which he was exposed.

A people whose discipline is too imperfect to enable them to contend with those to whom the science and the art of war are equally familiar, must resort to ambushes

surprises, and stratagems. When knowledge and numbers are equal, then indeed, a fair, manly, and open contest will be more agreeable to generous minds than the most adroit manœuvres, or the most skilful movements ; and in the days of chivalry, the knight who hesitated to meet his adversary on equal terms, and in fair fight, was branded as a recreant ; but modern usage has sanctioned all modes of warfare by which advantages may be gained which do not involve a violation of faith or honor.

His mode of making war was secret and terrible. He seemed like the demon of destruction hurling his bolts in darkness. With cautious and noiseless steps, and shrouded by the deep shade of midnight, he glided from the gloomy depths of the woods. He stole on the villages and settlements of New England like the pestilence unseen, and unheard. His dreadful agency was felt when the yells of his followers roused his victims from their slumbers, and when the flames of their blazing habitations glared upon their eyes. His pathway could be traced by the horrible desolation of its progress ; by its crimson print upon the snows and the sands ; by smoke and fire ; by houses in ruins ; by the shrieks of women, the wailing of infants, and the groans of the wounded and the dying. Well indeed might he have been called the ‘terror of New England !’ Yet in no instance did he transcend the ordinary usages of Indian warfare !

We now set in his seats, and occupy his lands ; the lands which afforded a bare subsistence to a few wandering savages can now support countless thousands of civilized people. The aggregate of the happiness of man is increased, and the designs of Providence are fulfilled when this fair domain is held by those who know its use ; surely we may be permitted at this day to lament the fate of him who was once the lord of our woods, and our

streams ; and who, if he wrought much mischief to our forefathers, loved some of our race, and wept for their impending misfortunes !

After the death of Philip, Church with his little company returned to Rhode Island, and after resting there a few days, marched to Plymouth, and received the miserable pittance which was limited by the necessities or the meanness of the government to thirty shillings for each Indian captured or killed, in lieu of pay, and Philip's head was estimated at no higher rate than those of his followers !

The government, however, ordered a thanksgiving, and on the 17th of August the head of the dreaded but unfortunate Philip was borne in *triumph* into the town of Plymouth.

Liberality
of the
Plymouth
govern-
ment to
Church.

Thanks-
giving and
the exhi-
bition of
Philip's
head at
Plymouth.

While Church was at Plymouth, a messenger came from Rehoboth, with information that Annawon was scouring the woods, and doing much mischief both there, and at Swansey. As Annawon was now the commander of the whole remaining force of Philip, the government well knew that his death or capture would terminate the war, and they became extremely solicitous that Church of whose prudence and sagacity they were now as well convinced, as they heretofore had been of his enterprise and intrepidity, should conduct the expedition against him.

Capture of
Annawon.

The ardent spirit of Church was easily excited, and by his personal solicitations, Howland his lieutenant, and several of his soldiers were prevailed upon to engage. So strong was the attachment of Church's soldiers to him that they assured him that they would go with him as long as an enemy remained in the woods.

He set forth on his march and ranged the woods of Pocasset, but discovering no enemy, passed over to Rhode Island, intending to rest through the sabbath ; early however in the morning of that day, a messenger arrived with

news that several Indians had been discovered while passing in a canoe from the island of Prudence to Poppesquash neck. Church and his company immediately marched, intending to explore the neck in the hope of capturing some of the Indians, expecting, in this way, to gain intelligence of the haunt of Annawon. On arriving at the ferry, they found no boat, but Church caused himself and sixteen of his Indian soldiers to be transported across this arm of the sea in canoes, but the wind then became so violent that no more could pass. The remainder of his company, including all the Englishmen, were left on the island. Although reluctant to go without the English, the Indians at length consented to march to Poppesquash, which was a long narrow neck or peninsula, running into Narragansett bay, between two rivers, and opposite the Mount Hope peninsula, where they then were. It required a march of nearly four miles to reach the spot where the Poppesquash peninsula was connected with the main land. They marched silently amongst the thickets until they reached a marsh,* where they were alarmed by the report of a gun; this induced Church to propose to his Indian subaltern, Capt. Lightfoot, to take three men, and to go out on a scout, to which he consented, but requested that Nathaniel, Church's servant, who had been recently taken, and who was well acquainted with the signals of the enemy, and with the ground, should go with him. Church, after giving Lightfoot positive orders to kill none of the enemy, but to take some alive, if possible, (as his only object at present was to gain intelligence of Annawon,) continued his march until he reached the narrowest part of the peninsula; here he divided his little company into two parties and posting three men there for the double

* A little above the present town of Bristol, in Rhode Island.

purpose of informing the scout of his movements, and of intercepting any of the enemy who might be lurking in the neck, if they should attempt to escape. The two parties then moved down by the two shores of the neck, until they fell in with each other, and returned without encountering a single enemy. The sentinels had heard nothing of the scout. After waiting some time, they laid down to rest, that they might more surely hear the signals of the scouts; they scattered themselves on the ground at some distance apart. The night was dark and gloomy; they had no food; they were fearful of kindling fires; and they began to entertain strong suspicions that Nathaniel had betrayed them. At the dawn of day they left their bivouack and withdrew themselves to a hill beyond the neck. Lightfoot was soon discovered advancing with great eagerness. He informed Church that soon after their separation he had heard the report of a gun, and moving in the direction of the sound, discovered two of the enemy who had killed a horse, and were taking off his skin. Nathaniel imitated the enemy's signal, which was like the howl of a wolf, and succeeded in drawing them into an ambush, and they were both taken. Being examined apart, they concurred in their story, which was that they and eight others were in pursuit of provisions, and that they had agreed on a place of rendezvous that night. Nathaniel, who was well acquainted with them, succeeded in gaining them to the interest of the English; by their aid, and by using the signal which had already succeeded so well, the capture of the others was effected without difficulty. They were conveyed to the old garrison on Mount Hope, and guarded through the night. The scout had also ascertained that they were a part of Annawon's company, 'and had left their families in a swamp

above Metapoiset neck.* Church marched immediately to the garrison, where he found Lieutenant Howland and the remainder of his company. Refreshing themselves with a meal of horse flesh, they marched to the swamp above Metapoiset, where they succeeded in capturing the women and children of these prisoners, and some others. One of the Indians who had been taken at Mount Hope, and who had engaged himself to the English, solicited the permission of Church to bring in his father, who was in another swamp at the distance of four miles. The anxiety of Church to gain certain intelligence of Annawan, induced him to accompany him, and taking five of his Indians and one Englishman, he sat out. When they reached the swamp, the Indian who had been captured on the preceding night left them, to search for his father. Church discovered a track leading from the woods, and he placed his men in close ambush, lying on the ground on each side of the track ; an old man armed with a gun, and followed by a girl, were soon discovered on the track. They were suffered to approach within the files, where they were easily taken ; they were interrogated apart, and severely threatened if they disagreed ; their stories corresponded ; they came from Annawon's company, which consisted of fifty or sixty, and were then concealed in Squannaconk swamp,† and the old man told Church that he had been sent out by Annawon to look for the Indians who had been taken at Mount Hope, and that by a rapid march he might reach the place of Annawon's concealment before the setting of the sun. The absent Indian now returned with his father and another prisoner.

* In Swansey.

† In the easterly part of Rehoboth, near the line of Old Taunton.

Church was now in sore perplexity ; he had ascertained the precise spot where Annawon was concealed ; he had ascertained his strength, and the time in which he might be reached ; his company was at a distance ; if he sent information to them, and waited their arrival, it might delay him so much, that Annawon, who seldom remained long in one place, might change his quarters and elude him. On the other hand, it seemed an act of desperation to make an attempt to capture him with a force so small ; he had with him but five Indians and one Englishman ; it was necessary to send one back to Lieutenant Howland with orders, and with his horse, as it was impossible to penetrate the swamps and forests with the horse ; should he be discovered by the enemy before he reached their encampment, it was almost certain that he would be compelled either to yield himself a captive, or perish ingloriously in a profitless contest ; his only hope therefore rested on the chance of surprising Annawon ; he well knew that Indians when surprised, were generally seized with a panic which oftentimes induced them to yield to a force far inferior to their own ; yet to surprise Indians in their own haunts was an undertaking fraught with desperate peril. Church was a puritan, and a devout one ; he entertained a strong belief that he was under the special protection of divine Providence, and that no harm could befall him. He finally resolved, if he could induce his men to follow him, to make the daring attempt. He put the question to the Indians ; they replied ‘ that they were always ready to obey his commands, but that they knew this captain Annawon to be a great soldier, that he had been a valiant captain under Ossamequin, Philip’s father, and that he had been Philip’s chief captain during this war, that he was a very subtle man, and of great resolution, and had often said that he would never be

taken alive by the English. And moreover, that they knew the men that were with him were some of Philip's chief soldiers; they therefore feared the practicability of making the attempt with so small a handful of assistants as were now with him, and that it would be a pity after all the great things he had done, that his life should be thrown away at last.' Church told them 'that he doubted not but Annawon was a subtle and valiant man; that he had a long time but in vain sought for him, and never till now could he find his quarters, and he was very loath to miss the opportunity, and doubted not but that if they would cheerfully go with him, the same Almighty Providence that had hitherto protected and befriended them, would do so still.' The resolution of Church, their confidence in his fortune, and their reliance on the favor and protection of the God of the English, who was dreaded by all the savages, induced them to consent. Church then addressed Cook of Plymouth, his single Englishman. 'Sir,' said this gallant man, 'I am never afraid of going anywhere, when you are with me.' He sent off the Indian who had found his father, with his horse, and with orders to his Lieutenant to repair forthwith to Taunton and secure his prisoners, and early on the following morning to march out on the Rehoboth road, where, if successful, he would join him. Church requested the old man to guide him to Annawon's encampment, and as he had spared his life, the Indian consented. Church and his little company then set forth on this bold adventure. The old Indian was faithful; he might have escaped during the march, as he outravelled Church's company, fatigued as they were with watching and travelling; at sunset he halted, and sitting down, informed Church that Annawon's scouts at this time were sent out, but would return to the encampment as soon as the darkness fell,

and then they could proceed safely. Church offered him arms, and proposed to him to fight under his command. This was testing his fidelity too severely; the veteran with great humility, but with an expression of manly and honorable feeling, refused to fight against his friend, saying nevertheless, 'I will go with you, and be helpful to you, and will lay hands on any man that shall offer to hurt you.'

It now being dark, they again moved forward with caution and in silence, being in close order. A slight noise broke the stillness. Church instantly ordered his men to halt; the noise was heard more distinctly:—they now knew that they were near the spot.—Church taking two of his Indians, crept softly to the brink of a high rock, and shrouded by the darkness looked over. The stout heart of this bold captain almost sunk within him, as he became sensible of all the dangers of his situation. A small hill, rising like an island from the swamp by which it was completely surrounded, and which at certain seasons was filled with water, was surmounted by the rock, which rose to a great height, in which there was a vast angular cavity opening in one direction towards the swamp, but enclosed on every other quarter by the steep sides of the rock. By the light of the fires which gleamed through the darkness of the swamp, he discovered three companies of Indians seated near each other. A huge tree which had been felled, lay across the opening, against which bushes had been placed upright, which formed a slight shelter, behind which, Annawon, his son, and some of his principal chiefs, were lying on the ground; their guns rested against a crotched stick which had been set up within the cavity, and were covered with mats to secure them from the damp and the dew. Without were large fires, at which some were preparing supper. So steep

was the rock on the side where Church was placed, that he saw that it was impossible to descend unless by grasping the bushes and roots which grew in the clefts, and by these means gradually to lower himself into the den. He apprehended at once that should he be discovered while descending, his life would be lost, and the distance was too great to leap. He moved back softly to his guide, and inquired of him whether it would be possible to effect an approach on that side of the rock which opened to the swamp; the old man told him truly that an approach in that direction would be attended with great danger, as that side was constantly guarded, and all Annawon's people had been directed to creep down the sides of the rock, so if any approached on the other side, he would certainly be known to be an enemy. No one unless possessed of their secret, could discover them at all unless by the light of their fires on the side towards the swamp; it was a prudent precaution to guard that side, as it prevented the possibility of a surprise; neither was it imprudent in Annawon to leave the other side unguarded, because he well knew that he must be secure on that side, unless there was treachery amongst his own people, and against their treachery precautions were useless. Church took his final resolution; he directed his guide and his daughter, still keeping their basket on their backs, to descend; when the noise of the pounding ceased they were to stop; when it was resumed they were again to move; this side of the rock was shaded from the fires. Behind the old man, and grasping a tomahawk in one hand, he placed himself; one of his followers was behind the girl. He hoped to effect the descent undiscovered, but if the old man and the girl were discovered, he still hoped that he and his followers might remain concealed in the deeper darkness of their shadow,

enlarged as they would be by the baskets; in this manner, supporting themselves by the roots and vines, which grew in the clefts, they effected their descent undiscovered, and Church leaping over the head of young Annawon, who shrunk within his blanket in utter fright, stood in the midst of the savages unharmed and triumphant! Old Annawon, starting from his recumbant posture, only uttered a single exclamation, (in English, I am taken,) and fell back in despair and in silence. The arms were instantly secured, and Church having instructed his Indians, who had all followed him down, sent them to the other companies. Without the least hesitation they went amongst them, informed them of the capture of Annawon, urged them to a peaceable surrender, and promised good treatment; they represented that all attempts to escape would be vain; that Church, who had a great army at hand, would utterly destroy them, but if they would surrender and give up their arms, they might expect the kindest treatment from the conqueror. As Church's Indians were known by all Annawon's company, (to whom many of them were related by blood,) they listened to their representations and quietly surrendered their arms, which were all conveyed to Church. The English captain then partook of the hospitality of his savage foe. Victors and vanquished sat down to a repast of horse meat and beef, and Indian corn which had been dried in the milk and pounded. Church was still alive to the danger of his situation, and he again sent his Indians amongst Annawan's men, with new arguments for submitting quietly; however no attempt to escape was made. Church and all his company had now been without sleep thirty six hours, and so weary was he, that he promised his men that they should sleep through the night, if they would watch two hours while he slept, but he sought repose in vain. His men soon fell

into a deep sleep, and his enemies were slumbering around him; he now observed with some alarm that Annawon was also awake, and he watched him in silence for more than an hour; at length Annawon arose, threw off his blanket, and walked out beyond sight and hearing; the suspicions of Church were now roused; he had promised to spare the lives of all except Annawon's, and he was apprehensive that in his despair he might be induced to attempt an escape either secretly or by violence; he gathered all the arms together, and placed himself in such a position by young Annawon, that any attempt to injure him would equally endanger the son; in this situation he remained some time in great anxiety, but at length, by the light of the moon, he perceived with much satisfaction that Annawon was returning; approaching Church, he fell on his knees, and addressed him in plain English, in these words: 'great Captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his country, for I believe that I and my company are the last that war against the English; so suppose that the war is ended by your means; and therefore these things belong to you.' He then presented him with three belts of wampum curiously wrought and edged with red hair, to one of which was appended a star; two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket; these he said were Philip's regalia, in which he appeared whenever he sat in state, 'and that he was happy in the opportunity of presenting them to Capt. Church, who had won them.' Neither being inclined to sleep, the remainder of this eventful night was passed in conversation. While all around them were buried in deep slumber, Annawon entertained his conqueror with the story of his life, which was extremely interesting, inasmuch as he had been engaged in all the wars of Philip's father with the distant Indians, as well as Philip's wars; and had been

in numberless battles, and in many marvellous adventures, for he was a man of great prowess in war, and ranked as first captain under Philip.

As soon as the day dawned, Church collected his own men and the prisoners, and leaving the swamp, gained the Taunton road; he met his lieutenant and his company about four miles from the town, to their great surprise as well as joy; for knowing how desperate his chance of success had been, they despaired of seeing him again.

At Taunton his men were treated with great hospitality and kindness; and he was received with enthusiastic rejoicing; they all remained there until the next morning, and then, Church having ordered Lieutenant Howland to guard the prisoners to Plymouth, took with him the elder Annawon, (probably to save him from immediate execution,) and six of his own Indians, and went to his family on Rhode Island, and from thence with his prisoner to Plymouth.

Thus was this most daring enterprise successfully achieved by the prowess of one man. The capture of Annawon terminated the war, for all the subsequent expeditions were in pursuit of flying and skulking enemies. The English race in New England were saved from destruction, and placed in safety; for this great service Church received the thanks of the General Court of Plymouth, and nothing else! And he had also the mortification to find all his entreaties and prayers for the life of Annawon utterly disregarded, and this unfortunate chief, the last of the New England Indians, was beheaded at Plymouth—a dastardly act, which disgraced the government.

By the fall of Philip, and the capture of Annawon, the character of the war was changed. Expeditions against the Indians were now regarded rather as hunting excursions than dangerous enterprises.

Surrender
of Tispa-
quin.

Not long after the death of Philip, in the month of September, Church commenced the pursuit of Tispaquin, the sachem of Namasket, who was represented by his followers to be impenetrable to bullets; they alleged that they had seen them strike his body and glance off; he was now skulking in the woods between Plymouth and Sippican river, killing cattle and swine. After two days Church came upon his track and discovered his quarters which he had just abandoned; continuing on the track he discovered another rendezvous, but Tispaquin again escaped him; at length his last place of refuge was discovered by the cries of an infant; this was at a place called Lakenham, where the thicket was so dense that it was scarcely penetrable. Church discovering by the smoke of the several fires that the enemy lay in single file, formed his men in a single rank; in this manner standing near together, they gradually approached, and rushing suddenly upon them captured the whole. Tispaquin was not there, but his wife and children were taken. Church marched to Plymouth with his prisoners, excepting two aged squaws whom he left at Lakenham, instructing them to inform Tispaquin that his wife and children were captured, and conveyed to Plymouth; that their lives were spared, and that if he would surrender, his life should also be spared, and that he should serve under him. He left provisions for the squaws, and a quantity of biscuit for Tispaquin.

On the next morning he returned and found Jacob, a noted follower of Philip, and an Indian girl. A day or two after, in the absence of Church, Tispaquin trusting to his assurances, surrendered himself.

The government basely violated the English faith which had been pledged by Church, and Tispaquin shared the fate of Annawon, being executed at the same time.

Nearly all the hostile Indians had now either been captured or killed or had submitted themselves to the mercy of the English; but a party of sixty still continued to lurk in the woods, and did some mischief in Rehoboth* in the month of December; they were pursued by a party from Medfield, who succeeded in taking three. Peter Ephraim, a Natick Indian, having been commissioned by the government of Massachusetts, afterwards went out in pursuit of them with twentyfour Indians, and a few Englishmen. The Englishmen fatigued with marching in the snow soon returned; Peter having fallen upon a track pursued it until he discovered the quarters of the hostile Indians; with his small force he endeavored to surround them, offering quarter if they would yield; eight of them refusing were shot, and the remainder being thirtysix were captured.

Expedition of Peter Ephraim and other Natick Indians to Seekonk.

This affair happened about the middle of January. On the 23d, Peter and his company succeeded in capturing twentytwo, amongst whom were five warriors armed. On the 26th, eight more were brought in, amongst whom was one who had done much mischief, who was called Cornelius. He was executed.

Amongst the petty skirmishes which happened at this time, while the English and friendly Indians were pursuing the frightened and flying enemy, there was one which deserves some notice.

Three Pequot or Moheagan Indians chanced to hear of a party of the enemy who were in Rehoboth; they went out and (the warriors being absent on a hunting excursion) captured some women and children, and an old decrepid man, who being unable to keep up with them, they re-

Exploits of the Pequot Major Simon.

* Now Seekonk and Rehoboth.

solved to kill; the old man prayed earnestly that his life might be spared, and they, yielding to his request, suffered him to go. When the warriors returned from their hunt this old man put them on the track of the Pequots; anxious to recover their wives and children, the hunters pursued and overtook them; one of the Pequots was killed, the other two barely escaped; one of them was called Major Simon; he was a warrior of great courage and prowess; he challenged any five of his assailants to meet him in fair combat; the challenge was refused and they all attempted to seize him; after firing, he broke through the whole and escaped with his companion.

Simon was said to have killed many enemies in single combat; once he leaped from a steep rock amongst a large body of them, and succeeded in capturing some and killing others; at another time while sleeping and dreaming of them, he awoke in season to discover several who were approaching to take him; resolutely presenting his gun, he forced his way through the whole and escaped.

Capture
of Con-
science a
Swansey
Indian.

Church was again commissioned in January, 1677, to go forth with his Anglo-Indian company to explore the woods; on this expedition he took many prisoners; amongst the last which he captured, he particularly remarked an old man; he inquired his name and place of residence, and the Indian told him that he belonged to Swansey, and that his name was Conscience; 'Conscience, (said the Captain,) then the war is over; for that was what they were searching for, it being much wanted.'

The bitterness of his feelings would break forth whenever he thought of the conduct of the government. This last captive was returned to Swansey and sold to a master of his own choosing.

The war on Connecticut river, and in the Nipmuck country, had been terminated for some time. All the

River Indians and most of the Nipmucks and Nashaways, fled to the north, and mingling with the Canadian Indians, were incorporated with their tribes, and their distinctive appellation was lost. In the subsequent wars their local knowledge was of great service to the French.

Termination of the war.

A few of the Nipmucks and Narragansetts sought and received the protection of Uncas, the sachem of the Moheagans:

Some were taken in the eastern country by a force under the command of Captains Sill, Hathorne, and Frost, and Major Waldron, and their principal men, amongst whom were One-eyed John, and Sagamore Sam, were sent to Boston and executed.

Sagamore John, a Nipmuck chief who had surrendered as before related, fearful that he should be put to death, escaped with twenty of his men from Captain Prentice, in whose custody he had been placed, and fled to the woods; one or two of his men were afterwards killed, and one or two more with their families were protected by Uncas; his fate was never certainly known.

The Saconet tribe as they had been serviceable allies were permitted to remain on their lands, which were bounded by a line from Pachet-brook to the head of Coaxet river.*

* Awashonks the squaw sachem had two sons. The title of the eldest was bought by the Plymouth court.

William the youngest, whose Indian name was Mamanua, was put to school, learned the Latin language, and was prepared for college; but he was seized with the palsy. William sold some lands.

In 1700, there were one hundred men belonging to the tribe. Numpus, who was appointed their captain, was alive at the capture of Cape Breton, in 1745. As late as 1774, the number of Moheagans was nearly one thousand; the whole number of Indians in Connecticut being thirteen hundred and sixty-three. At the same time the whole number in Rhode Island was fourteen hundred and eightytwo, principally Narragansetts.

At the court which was holden at Plymouth in November, it was ordered that a list should be taken of every male in the colony between the ages of sixteen and sixty without exception. Those who were judged by the towns or by the commissioned officers to be 'disabled for service,' were 'to be listed by themselves after the rest,' and the lists from the different towns to be furnished to the court.

The court directed that two or three men should be chosen in each town to take a more exact list of the rateable estates of the inhabitants between the twentieth of May next following and the June court, at which court the lists were to be presented.

Unimproved lands were exempted from taxation. Great particularity was required, and the ages of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, were to be expressed, and the value of each. The towns were to assemble after the lists were taken, and errors were to be corrected.

The council of war having, in July 1676, prohibited all male Indian captives who were fourteen at the time of their captivity, from abiding in the jurisdiction, the court confirmed the order, and directed all persons holding such captives to 'dispose of them out of the colony' before the first of December, on pain of forfeiting them to the use of the colony, and the constables were ordered to seize all the Indians remaining in the colony after the day prescribed, and to convey them to the treasurer, who was authorised to dispose of them for the benefit of the colony.

They further recognised the engagement of Captain Church to 'some five or six Indians,' that in case they did carry well, they should abide in the jurisdiction and not be sold to foreign places,' and confirmed it 'excepting any of them should appear to have had a hand in any horrid murder of any of the English, particularly an Indian

named Crossman who is accused to have had special hand in the cruel murder of Mr Hezekiah Willet.'

The Indian servants of the English were forbidden the use of guns for fowling or other purposes, under the penalty of forfeiture. They further said that 'forasmuch as by frequent and sad experience it is found that selling of arms and ammunition to the Indians is very pernicious and destructive to the English,' it was therefore ordered that any who should sell, barter, or give, 'any guns or ammunition of any kind unto any Indian or Indians,' *'should be put to death.'*

It was further enacted that neither those Indians who had accepted the mercy of the government or their posterity, should ever bear arms in the colony, and such Indians were directed to take up their abode 'from the westernmost side of Sepecan river, and soweastwards to Dartmouth bounds as they have occasion; and not any of them to go anywhere off the aforesaid bounds or tracts of land, but by order of some magistrate of the jurisdiction, or he that is appointed to have the oversight of them, and to attend such orders and directions as may at any time be directed to them from the government, and that for the present three Indians, viz. Numpus, Isaac, and Ben Sachem, alias Petenanuitt, shall have the inspection of them to help them in their settlement and to order them the best they can, and that in matters most momentous they have recourse to Mr Hinckley for help and direction.'

The court made some provision for those who had suffered in the war. They ordered the neck of land 'called Showamitt*' to be sold, and the proceeds of the sale applied to the relief of maimed soldiers, and others that are in great necessity in the colony, whose poverty hath been

* Now in Somerset.

caused by the war.' Still the generosity of the government was chilled by their economy, and this fund, the whole of which would have been inadequate to the payment of a tythe of the losses of individuals, or of the just relief of those who had been maimed in the service, was further charged with 'the just debts of the country.'

The governor, Major Cudworth, the treasurer, and such 'as should be chosen and deputed by each town, were authorized to make the distribution for the above purposes.

The three first or any two of them were also empowered to make sale of Showamitt and also of Mount Hope and Pocasset in behalf of the colony and to give the necessary conveyances.

Disposal
of the
prisoners.

The English now proceeded to dispose of their prisoners. All who were proved to have been concerned in the death of an Englishman, or in the destruction of property were put to death. Many of the others were sold as slaves, and most of them were transported to Bermuda.† Those who had remained friendly, or who had finally assisted the English, were left in possession of their lands and treated kindly.

† The court were perplexed about the disposal of Philip's son. This unfortunate and interesting boy was only nine years old. They referred the question to the ministers as being the ablest casuists. It is to be regretted that their answers are indicative not only of a stern, but of a savage spirit.

Mr Cotton the minister of Plymouth, and Mr Arnold the minister of Marshfield answered the queries of the court thus :

'The question being propounded to us by our honorable rulers, whether Philip's son be a child of death ! our answer hereunto is, that we do acknowledge that rule, Deu. xxiv, 16, to be moral and therefore perpetually binding, viz. in that particular act of wickedness though capital, the crime of the parent doth not render his child a subject to punishment by the civil magistrate ; yet, upon serious consideration, we humbly conceive that the children of notorious traitors, rebels, and murderers, especially such as have been principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, and that against a whole nation, yea, the whole Israel of God, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may, *salva re publica*, be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the scripture incidents.

At the close of the war the population of Massachusetts by one estimate, was 28,750 souls; Connecticut, 13,750; and Plymouth 7500,—in all 50,000. In another estimate, however, only 35,000 are allowed for the same colonies. Popu-
lation of
the colo-
nies.

In this war, which lasted but little more than a year and a half, six hundred Englishmen were killed. Thirteen towns in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, were destroyed, and many others greatly injured. Almost every family had lost a relative. Six hundred dwelling-houses had been burnt. A vast amount in goods and cattle had been destroyed, and a great debt created.*

of Saul, Achan, Haman, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of justice for the transgressions of their parents, although, concerning some of those children it be manifest, that they were not capable of being coactors therein.'

September 7, 1676.

SAMUEL ARNOLD,
JOHN COTTON.

Dr Increase Mather writes, 'If it had not been out of my mind when I was writing, I should have said something about Philip's son. It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him. He makes me think of Hadad who was a little child when his father (the chief sachem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and, had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a course, that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation.'

Mr Keith the good minister of Bridgewater, was inclined to mercy. 'I long (says this benevolent man) to hear what becomes of Philip's wife and son. I know there is some difficulty in that Psalm cxxxvii, 8, 9, though I think it may be considered, whether there be not some speciality and something extraordinary in it. That law, Deu. xxiv, 16, compared with the commended example of Amasias, 2 Chron. xxv, 4, doth sway much with me, in the case under consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue. Let us join our prayers at the throne of grace with all our might, that the Lord would so dispose of all public motions and affairs, that his Jerusalem in this wilderness, may be the habitation of justice and a mountain of holiness, that so it may be also a quiet habitation, a tabernacle which shall not be taken down.'

The life of this youth was spared, but he was sold as a slave and shipped to Bermuda!

* The Commissioners of the United Colonies represent the disbursements of Plymouth during this war at more than £100,000, an incredible sum! The

But the result of the contest was decisive; the enemy was extinct; the fertile wilderness was opened, and the rapid extension of the settlements evinced the growing prosperity of New England; the superiority of the English race was undisputed, and cultivation, civilization, a knowledge of the arts and sciences, and of the gospel, soon demonstrated the superiority of the social over the savage life.

During the years of the war, 1675 and 1676, Josias Winslow was governor, and John Alden the first assistant. The other assistants were William Bradford, Thomas Hinckley, John Freeman, Constant Southworth, James Brown, and James Cudworth.

Government were frequently without funds or men, and the war was actually carried on by the towns, both men and money being provided by them, and for all practical purposes the general defence was in their hands. The following is one of the accounts of the disbursements during a period of the war, which appears to bear the marks of accuracy.

Plymouth had disbursed	-	-	-	£351	3	9
Duxbury, -	-	-	-	164	19	0
Scituate, -	-	-	-	586	7	4
Marshfield, -	-	-	-	266	1	0
Sandwich, -	-	-	-	327	15	6
Yarmouth, -	-	-	-	266	1	0
Barnstable, -	-	-	-	351	3	9
Taunton, -	-	-	-	327	15	6
Rehoboth, -	-	-	-	485	5	4
Eastham, -	-	-	-	236	5	0
Bridgewater, -	-	-	-	164	19	0
Swansea, -	-	-	-	165	00	0
				<hr/>		
				£3692	16	2

Dartmouth and Middleborough being deserted, made no disbursements.

The city of Dublin was the only place in the British European dominions which bestowed any relief on this suffering colony. A donation of £124 10s was transmitted from that city.

The Deputies from Plymouth were Ephraim Morton, both years, William Harlow in 1675, Edward Gray, 1676.

Duxbury, Josiah Standish, William Paybody, both years.

Scituate, John Damon, both years, Jeremiah Hatch, 1675, John Cushing, 1676.

Taunton, George Macy and William Harvey, both years.

Sandwich, Thomas Tupper, in 1675, William Swift and Stephen Skiff, in 1676.

Barnstable, Barnabas Lathrop, two years, Thomas Huskins, in 1675, Joseph Lathrop, 1676.

Yarmouth, Thomas Hawes, both years, Edmund Hawes, 1675, John Thatcher, 1676.

Marshfield, Mark Eames and Anthony Snow, both years.

Eastham, Jonathan Sparrow, both years, Mark Snow, 1675, Jonathan Bangs, 1676.

Rehoboth, Daniel Smith, both years, Henry Smith, 1675, Nathaniel Paine, 1676.

Bridgewater, John Willis, both years.

Swansey, 1675, Hugh Cole.—Dartmouth, 1675, John Cooke.—Middleborough, 1675, John Thompson. These towns were broken up by the war, and sent no deputies in 1676.

During these years, Governor Winslow and Thomas Hinckley were the Commissioners on the part of Plymouth to the Congress of the Confederate Colonies, and Constant Southworth was the Colony Treasurer.

Boston, however, and Connecticut, made generous donations.

The towns on Cape Cod, suffered but little, particularly Sandwich.

END OF THE THIRD PART.

AN

HISTORICAL MEMOIR

OF THE COLONY OF

NEW PLYMOUTH.

PART IV.

BY FRANCIS BAYLIES.

PREFACE.

THE fourth part of this history embraces the period from the termination of the Indian war, at the commencement of the year 1777, to the termination of the separate existence of the Plymouth Colony. This part has been divided into five chapters. The first containing the general history of the Colony, until the establishment of the general government over New England, under the commission of Sir Edmund Andros, at the close of the year 1686.

The second, an abstract of the laws which were made during that period.

The third, a brief account of the administration of Sir Edmund Andros, particularly in such things as were specially interesting to Plymouth.

In the fourth chapter, the memoirs of the towns are completed, so far as the materials of the author permitted.

The fifth chapter comprises a period of little more than two years, and contains the history of the last days of this little colony, particularly the four expeditions of Colonel Church against the Eastern Indians,—the unavailing attempts of the colony to obtain a charter, and their final annexation to Massachusetts.

HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF
PLYMOUTH COLONY.

PART IV.

CHAP. I.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS AND OCCURRENCES IN THE COLONY
FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1677, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT OVER NEW ENGLAND.

IN June Josias Winslow was reelected governor, and John Alden first assistant; the other assistants were also reelected, viz. William Bradford, Thomas Hinckley, John Freeman, Constant Southworth, James Brown, James Cudworth.

The deputies from Plymouth were Edward Gray and Joseph Howland; Duxbury, William Paybody and Josiah Standish; Scituate, Robert Stetson and John Bryant, junior; Taunton, George Macy and William Harvey; Sandwich, William Swift; Barnstable, Thomas Huskins and Barnabas Lathrop; Yarmouth, John Miller and Jeremiah Hawes; Marshfield, Anthony Snow and Nathaniel Thomas; Eastham, Jonathan Sparrow and Mark Snow; Rehoboth, Nathaniel Paine and Daniel Smith; Bridgewater, John Willis; Swansea, Samuel Luther.

Dartmouth and Middleborough were not as yet, resettled.

Disposition of the conquered lands.

The Showamitt and Assonet conquered lands were ordered to be sold for the payment of the debts of the colony, and all the other conquered lands within two years, 'so as to settle plantations thereon in an orderly way to promote the public worship of God, and our own public good.' It was also ordered that the proceeds of the sales should be divided amongst the towns in proportion to their disbursements during the late war, and the lands then remaining unsold should be divided amongst the towns in that proportion.

Notwithstanding the conquered territory of Mount Hope was originally included within the limits of the Plymouth jurisdiction; notwithstanding its complete separation from Massachusetts and its contiguity to Plymouth; notwithstanding it had been conquered principally by the prowess of the people of this little colony, the government of Massachusetts endeavored to wrest it from them, and to obtain a grant of its lands from the king. Rhode Island, too, who had not even participated in the war, preferred a claim to the lands; and one William Crown of Nova Scotia, alleging some obsolete claim of his father on the bounty of the king, nearly succeeded in obtaining the grant; but the monarch finally granted the lands to Plymouth, and his sign manual was affixed to the grant, which was in these words: 'We have taken into our royal consideration, how that, by your loyalty and good conduct in that war, you have been the happy instruments to enlarge our dominions, and to bring the new territory of Mount Hope into a more immediate dependence upon us; we are therefore graciously pleased to give and grant, and do hereby give and grant unto you the full and entire property of the said territory or scope

of land commonly called Mount Hope, containing, by common estimation, seven thousand acres, be the same more or less, for the sole and proper use and behoof of yourselves, and the rest of our said colony of New Plymouth, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors as of our castle of Windsor in the county of Berks, yielding and paying seven beaver skins each and every year, &c.' By the terms of this grant the tenure of these lands was different from that of all other lands in the colony.

No royal grant was made of the other lands conquered from the Indians, and the colony succeeded to them by the right of conquest. The special grant of the Mount Hope lands was made in consequence of the different claims.

The order of the Court in October, 1675, requiring all persons to go armed when they attended public worship, was renewed.

The governor and all the assistants, and the deputies 1678. from Duxbury, Scituate, Sandwich, Barnstable, and Swansea, were reelected. Plymouth reelected Mr Howland, and elected Ephraim Morton; Yarmouth reelected Mr Miller and elected John Thatcher; Marshfield reelected Mr Snow and elected Mark Eames; Rehoboth reelected Mr Smith and elected Nicholas Peck; Eastham reelected Mr Sparrow and elected Thomas Paine; Bridgewater reelected Mr Willis, their sole deputy the preceding year, and with him elected John Haward; Taunton elected James Walker and Samuel Smith.

The Commissioners held a session by adjournment at Plymouth, March 20th, 1678; present, Thomas Danforth, Joseph Dudley from Massachusetts; Josias Winslow, Thomas Hinckley from Plymouth; William Leete, John Allyne from Connecticut.

Governor Winslow was chosen president.

A sister of John Sassamon being claimed as a servant by one Joseph Burge, it was ordered that if Burge could shew his title to her service before the governor of Plymouth, £5 should be paid him, and she might remain at Punkapog. Joseph and Jeremiah Hyde petitioning that their sister and her child in the hands of one Hatch of Saconeset, might be released, it was ordered that she should be delivered to them upon the repayment of the purchase money, if the governor of Plymouth saw fit.

Many Indian women and children were now held as slaves throughout the colony, the victims of the late war.

The Maquas or Mohawks finding their old enemies of Pokanoket reduced to a state of great weakness, renewed their hostilities and depredations. As the Indians of Pokanoket were now under the protection of the English, the Commissioners adopted the following recommendation to the governments of the several colonies.

‘Whereas the honored council of the Massachusetts, upon report of the Maquas, and enemy Indians complotting to make depredations on our friend Indians, as they did last summer, have commended to the Commissioners at this session to endeavor the settlement of a general peace. Upon a full debate had of that matter, the Commissioners have agreed to commend it to the several councils of the several colonies respectively, to use their best endeavors for obtaining a right understanding between the Maquas and the English of the United Colonies, having reason to fear, that hitherto there hath been failure therein, and for that end in case any of the Maquas do fall into the hands of either of the colonies, that they be there detained and kindly treated until some one of them be licensed to return to acquaint the sachems of their restraint, and the desire of the English to confer with them to a full accord, or in case no opportunity of that kind do happen, that

then they use any other mete expedient as to them shall seem mete for the effecting thereof, and the disburse made in pursuance thereof, as also for a mete gratuity if judged convenient, to be sent to the Maquas by any of our Indians, and as from themselves and not the English: the same to be borne and paid in proportion by all the United Colonies according to articles.'

The Commissioners took into consideration the subject of the proportions of the debt incurred in the late war with the Indians, and the conquered lands.

They awarded to each colony the lands which fell within their respective limits.

Massachusetts was found a creditor, and Plymouth was directed to pay to that colony £1000, and Connecticut £32, towards the remuneration of General Winslow, formerly commander-in-chief, whose whole compensation was £100. Each colony to pay such debts as were yet standing to their own inhabitants.

'The Commissioners having a full debate concerning a motion made for the erecting of English schools amongst the Indians, whereby they may be brought up to learn the English tongue, do highly approve thereof, as being most probable to reduce them to civility, and capacitate them to be religiously instructed, and do therefore order that those gentlemen that were appointed their rulers and teachers, do respectively in their respective precincts take effectual order therein, by improving as they best may, and the necessary charges thereof shall be considered by the Commissioners at their next meeting.'

Governor Josias Winslow was a Commissioner until his death in 1680; Thomas Hinckley until the termination of the Colonial Government, and William Bradford from the time of the death of Governor Winslow until the administration of Sir Edmund Andros.

Death of
Constant
South-
worth.

Constant Southworth, one of the assistants, died at Duxbury. He was elder than his brother Thomas, although the latter preceded him in the honors of the government. He was the step son of Governor Bradford, and came to America in 1629 or 1630. He was made a freeman in 1637, and in that year was a volunteer against the Pequots. In 1649, he was a deputy from Duxbury to the General Court, and in several other years. He was also one of the Commissioners of the confederated colonies, and for many years treasurer of the colony. In 1670, he was elected an assistant, and at the commencement of Philip's war, commissary general; the last office he soon resigned, and was succeeded by his distinguished son-in-law, the warrior Church.

In all public transactions he was one of the most useful and capable men of the colony.*

1679. The governor and assistants were reelected, the place of Mr Southworth being supplied by Daniel Smith of Rehoboth. The deputies of the preceding year from Duxbury, Taunton, Yarmouth, Marshfield, and Swansey, were reelected; Plymouth elected Mr Morton and Edward Gray; Rehoboth, Mr Peck and Gilbert Brooks; Eastham, Mr Sparrow and Jonathan Bangs; Bridgewater, John Willis; Scituate, John Cushing and Jeremiah Hatch;

* Mr Southworth married a daughter of William Collier, one of the assistants in 1637.

He left three sons, Edward, Nathaniel, and William; the two last removed to Saconet, where their father owned a large tract of land.

Edward remained at Duxbury, and was a deputy to the Plymouth Court, and a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts.

His daughter, Mercy, married Mr Freeman, Alice, Benjamin Church, and Mary, a son of John Alden. He left two other daughters.

It is believed that all of the name of Southworth are descended from him. His brother Thomas, left an only child, a daughter, who married Joseph Howland.

Sandwich, Thomas Tupper ; Barnstable, Barnabas Lathrop and Joseph Lathrop ; Dartmouth, John Cooke.

About this time died Captain Thomas Willett at Swansey. Captain Willett came to Plymouth in 1629, being amongst the last of the Leyden pilgrims. He was then a young man, but in high estimation for sobriety, fidelity, and capacity for business, and such was the confidence of the undertakers, that they sent him in 1630, to superintend their trading house at Penobscot, where he remained several years. In 1651 he was elected an assistant, and continued to be annually elected until 1665 ; he was then excused from official employment at Plymouth in consequence of the urgent solicitations of Colonel Nichols, the chief of the Commissioners who were appointed to receive possession of New Amsterdam, (now New York.) In 1664, Willett had accompanied the Commissioners as the agent on the part of Plymouth, when they received the surrender of the Dutch colony. His thorough acquaintance with the language and customs of the Dutch, amongst whom he had been reared at Leyden, (and with whom he had much trading intercourse at New Amsterdam,) as well as his good sense, activity, and capacity, rendered his services invaluable, and in 1665 he was invested with the highest honor of the city, by being appointed its first English mayor. Such was the confidence of the Dutch in Willett, that they had selected him as a referee to settle their controverted boundary with New Haven. Having acquired considerable interest in the Narragansett country, he removed to Wannamoiset, (afterwards Swansey,) in the vicinity, and he, and Mr Myles, may be considered the founders of Swansey. He was actively concerned in negotiations with the Indians for their lands, as his proximity to Mount Hope rendered his intercourse with them easy ; and he soon acquired great influence amongst them.

Death of
Captain
Willett.

He was also a Commissioner of the confederated colonies. He maintained through life an exalted character for piety and probity, and was not inferior to any of the pilgrims in any of the high qualities which rendered them so illustrious as the founders of a great people.*

1680. Governor Winslow was reelected governor, and Thomas Hinckley deputy governor *eo nomine*. The deputy governor was now for the first time specially designated by the title, probably in consequence of the ill health of the governor, whose death was apprehended, and the extreme age of Mr Alden, who, as first assistant, would have succeeded to the chair, when vacant. The assistants were reelected, as well as the deputies from Duxbury, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marshfield, Bridgewater, and Dartmouth. Ephraim Morton and William Clarke were chosen in Plymouth; Samuel Clapp in Scituate; John Hathaway and Thomas Leonard in Taunton; Nicholas Peck and Peter Hunt in Rehoboth; Jonathan Bangs and Thomas Paine in Eastham; Hugh Cole in Swansey, and John Thompson in Middleborough.

The Mount Hope lands were sold (September 14,) for £300 sterling to some gentlemen of Boston.

Death of
the gov-
ernor,
Josias
Winslow.

On the eighteenth of December died the governor, Josias Winslow. He was the son of Governor Edward Winslow, and was born in the colony where he lived and where he died, after having attained its highest honors.

* Captain Willett left three sons, Thomas, James, and Andrew; another lamented son, Hezekiah, had fallen a victim to Indian barbarity about the close of the war. One of his sons was one of the first settlers of the Narragansett country.

A daughter married Samuel Hooker of Farmington, Connecticut. His grandson Francis Willett, Esq., was a distinguished character in the colony of Rhode Island

Colonel Marinus Willett, a distinguished Revolutionary officer, and a former mayor of New York, (now living) is descended from the founder of Swansey.

His mother was Susannah White, the widow of William White, to whom the elder Governor Winslow was married in 1621. He was introduced into public life very early, and in 1643, as soon as he was eligible, was chosen a deputy to the Court from Marshfield, and several times afterwards. In 1657, soon after the death of his father, he was chosen an assistant; and in 1659 the major, or chief military commander of the colony. He was for many years a Commissioner of the confederated colonies, and in 1673, after the death of Governor Prence, he was chosen his successor. In the Indian war he held the chief command of the forces of the confederated colonies as general.

If it can be said truly that any one is fortunate, it may be truly said of the second Governor Winslow. His whole life was passed during the existence of the colony of which he was a native. He knew no other country. He died while it was independent, and before the extinction of its independence was anticipated or apprehended.

The early colonists when they looked into their situation, must always have felt a deep apprehension of possible evils; a sense of insecurity; an anticipation of the desolation and bloodshed of an Indian war. At the time of his death the question was settled, the Aborigines were conquered, and such as remained in the vicinity of the English were objects of commiseration rather than of terror. In this great work Governor Winslow had been a principal and triumphant actor. In his native colony he had stood upon the uppermost height of society. Civic honors awaited him in his earliest youth; he reached every elevation which could be attained, and there was nothing left for ambition to covet, because all had been gained. The governor had acquired the highest military rank, and had been engaged in active and successful

warfare, with the highest command then known in New England. He presided over the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the government. He lived on his ample paternal domain, and his hospitality was not only generous, but (according to the notions of the age) magnificent. In addition to his military and civic distinctions, he had acquired that of being the most accomplished gentleman and the most delightful companion in the colony, and the attractions of the festive and social board at Careswell were not a little heightened by the charms of his beautiful wife.*

Mild and tolerant himself, he witnessed with regret the movements of that fierce spirit which would not tolerate the liberality, and was blind to the wisdom of Cudworth and Browne; and he had the address to restore them to the confidence of the people, at a period when the curse of the age, the spirit of religious bigotry, was maddened by opposition and armed with power.

Persevering, frank, bold, and resolute, he encountered the hazard of popular displeasure with the same fearlessness as he did the ambushes and bullets of the savages.

Such was the heart, and such the spirit which animated the feeble frame of Josias Winslow. His health, never good, was much impaired by fatigues and exposure in the Narragansett campaign; after the war was over it rapidly declined, and he sunk to his grave at the age of fiftythree, in the fulness of his honors, and with his mental faculties unsubdued by disease and unimpaired by age. This bright picture of his character has its shades; his courage bor-

* The daughter of Herbert Pelham, Esq., an assistant in the government of Massachusetts, a gentleman of an ancient English family, connected with the ducal house of Newcastle.

dered on rashness, and his easy temper sometimes exposed him to the machinations of the unworthy.*

Thomas Hinckley of Barnstable succeeded General Winslow as governor of the colony, and James Cudworth succeeded Mr Hinckley as deputy governor; John Alden

* His son, the Hon. Isaac Winslow, was an eminent person; being President of the Provincial Council of Massachusetts Bay, and the chief military commander in the Province under the governor. He died at Marshfield in 1738 at the age of 67, leaving two sons.

His eldest son, a young gentleman of great promise, by the name of Josias, engaged in military service, received a Captain's commission, and was killed in battle after a most gallant resistance against a superior force of French and Indians, in 1724.

General John Winslow, the eldest of the surviving sons, was a distinguished and successful commander. In 1740, he commanded a company in the expedition against Cuba, and afterwards rose to the rank of major general in the British service. In 1755, an expedition against Nova Scotia was undertaken by the British government, of which General Monckton was commander in chief, and General (then Colonel) Winslow second in command. So great was the popularity of Colonel Winslow, that in an incredible short time he raised for this expedition two thousand men. The French forts of Beau-sejour and Gaspereau were captured, with scarcely any loss on the part of the conquerors, and the whole province completely reduced, chiefly through the enterprise and good conduct of Colonel Winslow; to him too was entrusted the difficult and delicate task of removing the French neutrals.

Previous to commencing the campaign of 1756 to Crown Point, General Abercrombie sent for General Winslow, and to him was to have been entrusted an attack on Ticonderoga, which was suspended by orders from Lord Loudon in consequence of the disaster at Oswego. During this season he commanded at Fort William Henry on Lake George. He was also a councillor of the province. He died at Marshfield in 1774 at the age of seventythree.

His younger brother Edward was an accomplished scholar, and a gentleman of fine taste. Being a loyalist he removed at the commencement of the Revolution to Nova Scotia, where his posterity have acquired high official distinctions.

The only son of General Winslow was Isaac Winslow, M. D. a physician, a most worthy and excellent gentleman. He died at the family seat in Marshfield in 1819, at the age of eightyone.

His only son John Winslow, Esq. a learned lawyer, died a few years since at Natchez, (Mississippi,) where he had removed on account of his health.

was reelected first assistant ; Mr Cudworth's place as an assistant was supplied by Barnabas Lathrop of Barnstable ; Mr Bradford, Mr Freeman, Mr James Brown and Mr Smith, were reelected assistants. The deputies from Duxbury, Taunton, Marshfield, Dartmouth, and Middleborough were reelected ; Plymouth reelected Lieutenant Ephraim Morton and elected Joseph Warren ; Scituate reelected Mr Clapp and elected Captain John Williams ; Sandwich elected Edmund Freeman ; Yarmouth reelected John Miller and elected Jeremiah Hawes ; Barnstable reelected Lieutenant Joseph Lathrop ; Rehoboth reelected Ensign Nicholas Peck and elected Gilbert Brooks ; Eastham reelected Mr Paine and elected Captain Jonathan Sparrow ; Bridgewater elected Lieutenant John Haward, (Howard;) Swansey elected Obadiah Bowen.

Mr
Cudworth
agent to
obtain a
charter.

The grand council of Plymouth in England having no powers of sovereignty, and the government of New Plymouth holding only under a patent from the council had always felt their situation to be precarious. They were at the mercy of the king, who might justify (at least technically) the dissolution of their government under the forms of his prerogative. This government had conducted themselves in their deportment to the crown with great caution, and had discovered far more pliancy to the royal wishes than their sterner brethren of Massachusetts, who, relying on their charter, felt disposed to yield but little more than was required by the terms of the instrument, and nothing to the royal prerogative.

Plymouth had been long desirous of obtaining a charter from the crown similar to that of Connecticut, and had received frequent assurances from Charles II. that such a one should be granted ; Governor Hinckley had cultivated the friendship of Randolph (afterwards so odious as the tool of Sir Edmund Andros,) who had

engaged his good offices to obtain one ; a copy of their patent was ordered for the purpose of framing a charter in which the Narragansett country, the jurisdiction of which had been so long in dispute, was to have been included, and Mr Cudworth went to England as the colonial agent. Soon after his arrival in London he died of the small pox, and nothing was effected.*

His death.

* James Cudworth who finally acquired a very high estimation in this little colony, was born in England. He was one of the earliest settlers of Scituate, and removed to Barnstable with Mr Lathrop in 1639, but soon after returned to Scituate, of which town he was elected a deputy in 1649, and in 1656 an assistant, but was left out of the government in 1658, in consequence of his dislike to the harsh proceedings against the Quakers and others, and remained out of favor until the accession of Governor Josias Winslow to the chair in 1673, one of whose objects was to restore Cudworth to the confidence of the people, that they might profit by his abilities and integrity in the public service. He was in that year appointed to the command of an expedition against the Dutch, with whom hostilities were then expected. The news of his appointment was communicated by letter from Governor Winslow dated December 19, 1673. His reply denotes his modest, unassuming, pious, conscientious, and simple character; and his statement of the causes of his refusal furnishes a striking illustration of the simple manners and habits of the people of that age. 'However (says he) it does behove all that are to be the principal actors in such a design, to be clear in themselves, not only concerning the lawfulness, but also how expedient such an undertaking may be; then they may with more comfort and courage, manage that part of the works they are designed unto. Sir, I do unfeignedly and most ingenuously receive the Court's valuation and estimation of me, in preferring me to such a place. It is not below me or beneath me, (as some deem theirs to be,) but is above me, and far beyond any desert of mine; and had the Court been well acquainted with my insufficiency for such an undertaking, doubtless I should not have been in nomination; neither would it have been their wisdom to hazard the cause and lives of their men upon an instrument so unaccomplished for the well-management of so great concern. So being persuaded to myself of my own insufficiency, it appears clearly and undoubtedly unto me, that I have no call of God thereunto; for *vox populi* is not always *vox dei*; and therefore I cannot in anything give a more full and real demonstration of my loyalty and faithfulness unto my king and country, than in declaring my unfitness for the acceptation of the management of such a design; and should I embrace and accept of the call, knowing my own insufficiency

Mr Cudworth died in 1682. At the time the *quo warranto* was issued against Massachusetts, Mr Blaithwait

for the work, what should I less, than what in me lies, but betray the cause and lives of men into the hands of the enemy. Learned, judicious, and worthy Mr Ward, in his animadversions on war, says, that the inexperience of a captain hath been the ruin of armies, and the destruction of commonwealths.

‘ Besides, it is evident unto me, upon other considerations, I am not called of God unto this work at this time. The estate and condition of my family is such as will not admit of such a thing; being such as can hardly be paralleled; which was well known unto some, but it was not well or friendly done as to me, nor faithfully as to the country, if they did not lay my condition before the Court. My wife, as is well known to the whole town, is not only a weak woman, and has so been all along, but now by reason of age, being sixtyseven years and upwards, and nature decaying, so her illness grows more strongly upon her; never a day passes, but she is forced to rise at break of day, or before; she cannot lay for want of breath; and when she is up, she cannot light a pipe of tobacco, but it must be lighted for her; and until she has taken two or three pipes, for want of breath she is not able to stir, and she has never a maid. That day your letter came to my hands, my maid’s year being out, she went away, and I cannot get or hear of another. And then, in regard of my occasions abroad, for the tending and looking after all my creatures, the fetching home my hay, that is yet at the place where it grew, getting of wood, going to mill, and for the performing all other family occasions, I have none but a small Indian boy, about thirteen years of age, to help me.’

He continues, ‘ Sir, I can truly say that I do not in the least wave the business out of any discontent in my spirit arising from any former difference; for the thought of all which is, and shall be forever buried, so as not to come in remembrance, though happily such a thing may be too much fomented; neither out of an effeminate or dastardly spirit; but am as freely willing to serve my king and my country as any man whatsoever, in what I am capable and fitted for; but do not understand that a man is so called to serve his country with the inevitable ruin and destruction of his own family.

‘ These things being premised, I know your honor’s wisdom and prudence to be such, as that you will upon serious consideration thereof, conclude that I am not called of God to embrace the call of the General Court. Sir, when I consider the Court’s act in pitching their thoughts upon me, I have many musings, what should be the reasons moving them thereunto; I conceive it cannot be, that I should be thought to have more experience and better abilities than others; for you, with many others, do well know, that when I entered upon military employ, I was very raw in the theoretic part of war, and less acquainted with the practical part; and it was not long I sustained my place, in which I had occasion to bend my mind and thoughts that way; but was dis-

wrote to Governor Hinckley, (Sept. 27, 1683,) as follows. 'I must deal plainly with you. It is not probable anything will be determined in that behalf until his majesty do see an issue of proceedings in relation to the Massachusetts colony, and that upon regulating their charter, that colony be brought under such actual dependence upon the crown as becomes his majesty's subjects. From hence it will be, that your patent will receive its model; and although you may be assured of all you desire, yet it

charged thereof, and of other public concerns; and therein I took *vox populi* to be *vox dei*; and that God did thereby call and design me to sit still, and be sequestered from all public transactions; which condition suits me so well that I have received more satisfaction and contentment therein, than ever I did in sustaining any public place,' &c.

Previous to the Indian war, Cudworth had been elected the first military commandant, or major of the colony. At the commencement of the war he received the title and office of general, and was the chief commander of the forces. He was not much distinguished for his prowess, although his caution and prudence probably prevented some disasters which might have happened, if the overweening confidence of men not braver and less discreet than him, had not been restrained.

The defect in the military character of Cudworth was his want of enterprise, a fatal defect in one who wages war with Indians, and hence it was that the fame of Church, who had no particular military reputation at the commencement of the war, completely obscured and overshadowed that of Cudworth before its termination. But the moral character of the last defied all rivalry; it stands out in bold relief, beaming with light amidst the darkness of the age. Although a Puritan of the deepest devotion, referring everything to the special impulses and influences of the divine power; although he was sober, grave, and reflecting, possessing that calm wisdom which brings with it that consciousness of rectitude which rejects the doubts and uncertainty of ignorance, and is poised on its own opinions; yet he could not find the warrant for the persecution of those whose opinions differed from his, and chose rather to endure persecution himself than to inflict it on others; and from the maxims of his pious philosophy, believing that he was not called by God to fill the high places of the state, he reconciled himself to his obscurity and privacy, and preferred the retirement of his farm to the highest civic and military honors.

He died as is related above, in the city of London, and in the public service; he was one of the original proprietors of the town of Freetown, and there his son, Captain James Cudworth, died in 1729.

will be expected that, in acknowledgment of so great favors, such provisions may be inserted as are necessary for the maintenance of his majesty's authority.'

Anxious to keep an interest alive in the royal bosom, in November, the Court forwarded an address of congratulation to king Charles for his deliverance ' (in answer to their prayers, they hoped,) from the late horrid conspiracy, (the Rye-house plot,) and that they had appointed the 15th instant for a day of solemn thanksgiving for the salvation of his majesty's person from that and other hellish conspiracies.' And concluded their address with again soliciting a charter, the model of which they proposed should be taken from the patent of the Plymouth council. In the subsequent year the government received advices from Randolph, by which they were informed that their address had been presented to the king in council, and that it had been graciously received, and that the prospect of attaining their object was flattering.

A letter dated June 26, 1685, under the sign manual of king James II, was received by the government, in which they were informed of his ' accession to the throne,' the defeat of Argyle, Monmouth, &c, and they were cautioned against believing ' false and malicious rumors,' which might be spread to the disadvantage of the king.

This letter was reciprocated by a loyal address, in which the king was reminded of the assurances of his royal brother, but the government soon had reason to deplore this premature developement of their loyalty, and the meanness of that adulation which would attribute to their prayers ' the salvation of his majesty's person from the horrid and hellish conspiracies' of Lord William Russell, Algernon Sydney, and others, the martyrs of liberty, the forlorn hope of the people, the vanguard of that ' noble army of patriots' who first established a free

constitution in England; and which could order a public thanksgiving for an event which established the despotic rule of a mean, ungrateful, and profligate prince, who hated the proud and gallant people whose crown he wore, and debased the royal dignity of England, by becoming the base recipient of the eleemosynary bounty of the king of France!

Mr Hinckley was reelected governor and William Bradford elected deputy governor in the place of Mr Cudworth. The other assistants were all reelected, and John Thacher of Yarmouth was elected to supply the vacancy occasioned by the promotion of Major Bradford. The deputies were reelected in Plymouth, Duxbury, Taunton, Bridgewater, Swansey, and Middleborough; Mr Clapp was reelected in Scituate, and John Cushing elected; Thomas Tupper and Stephen Skiff were elected in Sandwich; Mr Miller was reelected in Yarmouth, and Captain Nathaniel Thomas and Samuel Sprague were elected in Marshfield; Ensign Peck was reelected and Captain Peter Hunt elected in Rehoboth; Captain Sparrow was reelected and John Doane elected in Eastham; John Russell was elected in Dartmouth; Bristol was represented for the first time by the celebrated warrior Captain Benjamin Church; in Barnstable, Joseph Lathrop was reelected, and Samuel Allen.

By an order of Court the conquered land 'called Assonet Neck being purchased by some of Taunton,' was declared to be in the township of Taunton.

This year Saconet was incorporated as a town, and called Little Compton.

The governor, deputy governor, and all the assistants, were reelected, and the deputies from Plymouth, Scituate, Sandwich, Taunton, Marshfield, Barnstable, Rehoboth, Middleborough, and Bristol; the deputies from Duxbury

were Josias Standish and Ensign — Tracy ; from Yarmouth John Miller and Jeremiah Hawes ; from Eastham Ensign Jonathan Bangs and Captain Jonathan Sparrow ; from Bridgewater Thomas Haward and John Haward ; Dartmouth, John Cooke ; and Swansea, Hugh Cole ; Little Compton was represented for the first time by Henry Head.

The Quakers could not have retained any deep sense of injuries inflicted by the Plymouth government on their sect, as the following friendly letter from William Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, to Governor Hinckley serves to show.

‘ RESPECTED FRIEND, — The duty and decency of my station as a governor, as well as mine own inclination, oblige me to begin and observe a kind and friendly correspondence with persons in the like capacity, under the same imperial authority. This single consideration is inducement enough to this salute, and I have no reason to doubt its acceptance, because such an intercourse is recommended both by the laws of Christianity and those of civil policy ; which said, Give me leave to wish thee and the people under thy conduct all true felicity, and to assure thee that with God’s assistance I shall herein endeavor to acquit and behave myself worthy of the title and character of

Thy real friend and loving neighbor,

WILLIAM PENN.

Philadelphia, ye 2d of ye 3d mo. 1683.

1684. The governor, deputy governor, and all the assistants, were reelected, excepting James Brown,* whose place was

* Mr Brown died October 29th, 1710, aged eightyseven. He left two sons, James, who died at Barrington in 1725, and Jabez, and one daughter, Dorothy Kent.

supplied by Major John Walley of Bristol. The deputies from Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Sandwich, Taunton, Yarmouth, Marshfield, Barnstable, Swansey, Middleborough, Bristol, and Little Compton were reelected; in Sandwich Mr Skiff was reelected and Shearjashub Bourne elected; in Rehoboth, Lieutenant Peck was reelected and Gilbert Brooks elected; in Eastham, Captain Sparrow was reelected and John Doane elected; in Bridgewater, Thomas Haward was reelected; Freetown was represented for the first time by Joseph Bayley.

The governor, deputy governor, and all the assistants, were reelected. The deputies from Plymouth, Scituate, Rehoboth, Eastham, Bridgewater, Swansey, Middleborough, Little Compton, and Freetown, were reelected; Captain Standish and Benjamin Bartlett were elected in Duxbury; Thomas Tupper and Stephen Skiff in Sandwich; Thomas Leonard and Serjeant William Wetherell in Taunton; Jeremiah Hawes and Lieutenant Silas Sears in Yarmouth; Nathaniel Thomas and Isaac Little in Marshfield; Joseph Lathrop and Shubael Dimmack in Barnstable; Joseph Tripp was elected in Dartmouth, and Stephen Burton and John Rogers in Bristol.

On the 28th of June, 1685, died Nathaniel Morton, the secretary of the colony, who had been appointed to that office in 1645, and had remained in it forty years, and to his care and attention is owing the excellent preservation of the ancient records. He was a man of some learning and of much industry, faithful and accurate, a very good writer, whose sincere piety breaks out in many places in his works, but he had little toleration for what he deemed wicked error, and held all schismatics in utter detestation. He was born at Ansterfield, in the north of England, and his mother was sister to Governor Bradford. His father,

1685.

Death of
Secretary
Morton.

George Morton, arrived at Plymouth with his family, in July, 1623, and died in June, 1624.*

In this year an authority was given to the Court of Assistants 'to examine, allow, and confirm, from time to time, all claims and titles to lands formerly granted to towns and individuals by the General Court, and when allowed they were to pass the seal of the government for confirmation.' In consequence of this authority, confirmatory charters, as they were called, were made to the several towns, in which all their '*purchases*' were particularly described and set forth.

1636. At the election in June, Thomas Hinckley was reelected governor, and William Bradford deputy governor. John Alden, John Freeman, Daniel Smith, Barnabas Lathrop, John Thatcher, and John Walley were reelected assistants. The deputies from Plymouth were Lieutenant Ephraim Morton, Joseph Warren; Duxbury, John Tracy, Francis Barker; Scituate, John Cushing, Samuel Clapp; Sandwich, Thomas Tupper, Stephen Skiff; Taunton, Thomas Leonard, George Macy; Yarmouth, Silas Sears, Jeremiah Hawes; Barnstable, Joseph Lathrop, Shubael Dimmack; Marshfield, Isaac Little, Samuel Sprague; Eastham, Jonathan Sparrow, Mark Snow; Rehoboth, Gilbert Brooks, Nicholas Peck; Bridgewater, Thomas Haward; Dartmouth, John Cooke; Swansey, Hugh Cole; Middleborough John Thompson; Bristol, Stephen Burton, John Rogers; Little Compton, Edward Richmond; Free-town, Job Winslow.

Seipican was incorporated as a town by the name of Rochester, and belonged at first to the county of Barnstable, afterwards to Plymouth.

* Secretary Morton had six daughters, who were all married in his lifetime, four of whom survived him. He left no sons. One of his daughters married Nathaniel Bosworth of Hull.

Suckinussett in Barnstable county, was incorporated as a town and called Falmouth.

John Alden died in the course of the year at Duxbury. 1636.
 He was one of the pilgrims of the May Flower, and is ^{Death of}
 believed to have been at the time of his death the last sur- ^{John}
 viving signer of the original governmental compact; the ^{Alden.}
 Charles Carroll of his day; the last of the pilgrims. Tradition assigns him the good fortune of having been the first who leaped on the rock at the time of the landing, but his claim to this distinction is disputed, and by some allowed to Mary Chilton, a young female pilgrim. He had been for many years deeply engaged in the public concerns of the colony. An assistant as early as 1633, he was continued in that office with but few interruptions until the time of his death, and at that time he was and had been nearly all the time since the year 1666, the first assistant or deputy governor. He was born in England in 1597, and died at the age of eightynine. After the death of Captain Standish he was for some time treasurer of the colony. He possessed much native talent, 'was decided, ardent, resolute, and persevering.' Indifferent to danger, he was resolute in his duty 'even to slaying.' A bold and hardy man, stern, austere, and unyielding, of exemplary piety and of incorruptible integrity; an iron nerved puritan, who could hew down forests and live on crumbs. He hated innovations and changes, steadily walked in the ways of his youth, and adhered to the principles and habits of those whom he had been taught to honor.*

* John Alden married Priscilla Mullins, one of the female pilgrims. In obtaining this lady, who was extremely engaging, tradition says that he overreached the veteran Standish. From him are descended all who bear the name of Alden in the United States.

His son John lived in Boston, and commanded the armed sloop of the Massachusetts. Joseph lived in Bridgewater. David remained at Duxbury, of which town he was often a deputy to the Court. Jonathan lived on the paternal farm at Duxbury.

A son of David Alden whose name was Samuel, lived in Duxbury and died at the age of ninetythree ; he was the father of Colonel Ichabed Alden of the revolutionary army, who was killed at Cherry Valley in 1778.

One of his daughters married — Bass of Braintree. One married William Paybody, one of the earliest settlers of Duxbury, a man much employed in public affairs, and of much respectability. One married Josiah, a son of the warrior Myles Standish. The other married Samuel Delano, a son of Philip De La Noye, one of the early pilgrims.

Mrs Bass was a maternal ancestor of two Presidents of the United States, John Adams and his son John Quincy Adams.

Major Judah Alden, of the revolutionary army, president of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati, now owns the ancient domain of his great ancestor in Duxbury.

The Reverend Timothy Alden, minister of Yarmouth on Cape Cod, and his son Timothy Alden, now president of Meadville College in Pennsylvania, were of this descent.

John Alden, one of the descendants, died at Middleborough, aged one hundred and three, within a few years.

CHAPTER II.

ABSTRACT OF THE GENERAL LAWS FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF
1677, TO THE TERMINATION OF 1686.

FINDING much difficulty arising in the towns 'to the obstruction of carrying on religion and the public weal,' from the practice of indiscriminate suffrage; those who had not taken the freeman's oath, as well as those who had been permitted to vote, claiming the right by reason of paying taxes; the Court at their session in June, 1678, passed an order expressly directing the town authorities to exclude all persons who had not taken the oath from the right of suffrage, and that lists should be kept by the town clerk of such.

'For the preventing of prophane increasing in the colony, which is so provoking to God, and threatening to bring judgment upon us,' the Court enacted, (June, 1678,) 'that none should come to inhabit without leave, and if any have or shall at any time intrude themselves to inhabit anywhere within this colony, notwithstanding the aforesaid order, shall forthwith be warned to be gone out of the colony,' and a fine of 5s. was imposed for every week's continuance after warning. The inhabitants were forbidden 'to sell, or hire out accommodations,' to any such, or to entertain them, under the penalty of £5 or £10, at the discretion of the Court, hoping the Court will be

careful that whom they accept of, are orthodox in their judgments.'

At the second session of the Court, in July, 1679, it was enacted, 'that all public civil officers have an oath formed for such office, and brought to the printed book, that the secretary should take the oath annually, and that the deputy governor be under oath, (as such,) and therefore annually chosen.'

Judiciary,
&c.

By a law of 1682, judges who were near relations to parties in civil actions, 'as between father and son, by nature or by marriage, brother and brother, uncle and nephew, landlord and tenant,' were forbidden to sentence, but might give reasonable advice.

Military
laws.

The order of Court passed in 1644, allowing the soldiers to carry matchlocks, was repealed. The order respecting trainings passed in 1640, was renewed with alterations; four trainings only, instead of six, being required; and as a part of the exercise, it was ordered that the soldiers should be trained to shoot at marks, and the officers who had served in the last war were not required to serve at trainings in any lower grade. These laws were enacted in 1677.

In 1681, military companies were required to fill vacancies with able and fit officers, and the soldiers were to be provided with swords or cutlasses.

In 1684, the council of war directed that this should be the form of a commission :

'To A. B., captain, as followeth: Whereas, you are chosen captain of the foot company of the town of —, for the service of his majesty, these are to empower and require you in his majesty's name to take into your charge and under your command said company, and according to your best skill, exercise and instruct your inferior officers

and soldiers, both in peace and war, in any military employ, and shall faithfully intend the service of his majesty as there be occasion, and all your officers and soldiers are required hereby to obey you as their captain, and you to obey such orders as already are or shall be established by the General Court, or that from time to time you may receive from your superior officers or the council of war, and upon any sudden exigence where you have not opportunity of advising with the town council, you are to act according to your best discretion both in matter of offence and defence.' In testimony whereof is affixed the seal of our government this fourth of July, 1684.

The following law for the support of public worship Public worship. was enacted in 1677.

'Whereas many ways have been tried for the raising of a certain and comfortable maintenance for the ministers of the gospel in this colony, which, notwithstanding some plantations not giving due encouragement to those that were or should have been improved in that honorable and profitable work ; some plantations have for a considerable time, and still do, remain destitute of the public preaching of the word, unto the great prejudice of their own souls, and the continued grief of all well-affected amongst us ; and in some other plantations where ministers are yet continued the means for their support is raised with great difficulty and uncertainty.—It is therefore enacted by the Court and authority thereof, that such sum or sums as the people of the several towns and plantations in this government do agree to pay to their respective ministers, or for defect of their mutual agreement, such sum or sums as the Court shall judge meet, and appoint to be raised for encouragement of ministers to settle in such places, as now are, or at any time may be destitute, shall be raised by rate on all the rateable inhabitants of the several

plantations of this government ; and shall yearly go forth at the same time that is to be made and levied for ordinary country charges. The law then provides that the constables shall gather the rates in specie, and pay them over to the treasurer ; and if they were obstructed, the same penalty was provided as in other cases where the gathering of rates was obstructed, ‘and in plantations where no allowed minister is, some person or persons should be by the court appointed by the treasurer’s order to receive the said sums thus raised, which shall be improved to such public pious use in that plantation as the court shall direct unto. This order to take place at present where there is no other provision for effecting that end.’

And still further to promote this great object, at a session in June, 1678, the Court enacted ‘that in each town and village within the jurisdiction, there should be a house of worship erected, finished, repaired, or enlarged, as need was.’ And in case of refusal on the part of such town or village, the Court directed that houses of worship should be erected, finished, repaired, or enlarged, under their authority, and that the expense should be assessed upon the inhabitants and proprietors according to their ability ; and it was further enacted, that ‘where a township, or that is fit, or that is capable of a township, being begun to be peopled though not filled with inhabitants, they or few of them being desirous to promote public worship, shall be assisted by this government, so as the charge to get an able, faithful preacher of God’s word, and to maintain the same shall be raised upon all the chattels and other rateables of all the proprietors of any such place as is there found.’

The provision made in the foregoing law is believed to have been the first where the coercive collection of taxes for the maintenance of ministers, was authorized. Orders

had been passed, which recommended to the people to provide a liberal support for their pastors, but no authority had been given to enforce its coercive payment.

It may seem suprising that in a colony which had been founded by a people who had devoted themselves to religion, and for religion had abandoned the ordinary employments of life, should have neglected to provide the means of support for their instructors, but it was the general devotion which precluded the necessity of making any provision on the subject. A law enjoining upon all to have pursued their professions, would have been as necessary.

The whole people were as much devoted to religion as their ministers, but as the ministers in a manner monopolized the learning of the colony, much of their time was employed in secular affairs, and they were possessed of a leading influence in the colony, and sometimes acted as public officers.

Whatever was bestowed upon them was by voluntary donation ; but as the colony increased in population, and new avocations engaged the attention of the people, they neglected the support of their teachers. New plantations also had been commenced, in which the poverty of the people afforded a plausible excuse for this neglect. Many came into the settlement, who voted in all secular affairs, and who felt but little interest in supporting public worship.

The government of Plymouth saw, or imagined a necessity for enforcing this support by law ; perhaps *they* judged wisely, but in this age it will be found difficult to support public worship in any other way than by voluntary donations, or by the income of permanent funds. There are so many ways in which the payment of taxes for this purpose may be evaded, that the whole

burden of the support of public worship will fall upon the liberal and the conscientious, and upon those who cherish a strong sense of religious duty.

Public
schools.

The policy of the Court's order for the maintenance of public schools in the different towns of the colony passed in November, 1677, was far less questionable. After reciting in their preamble that 'the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing estates of societies and republics;' they therefore ordered, 'that in whatsoever township consisting of fifty families or upwards, any meet man may be obtained to teach a grammar school, such township shall allow at least £12 in current merchantable pay, to be raised by rate, on all the inhabitants of such town; and those that have the more immediate benefit thereof, to their children's going to school, with what others may voluntarily, to promote so good a work and general good, shall make up the residue necessary to maintain the same; and that the profits arising from the Cape fishery heretofore ordered to maintain a grammar school in this colony be distributed to such towns as have such grammar schools for the maintenance thereof not exceeding £5 per annum to such town, unless the Court treasurer or other appointed to manage that affair see good cause to add thereto, to any respective town, not exceeding £5 more per annum.'

The Court further ordered that any town containing seventy families, which was destitute of a grammar school, should be taxed £5, which should be bestowed upon the next town wherein such school was maintained.

Support of
the poor.

At a meeting of the General Court in 1683, the following order was passed for the support of the poor.

'That the poor may be provided for as necessity requireth, this Court ordereth that the selectmen in each town shall take care and see that the poor in their re-

spective townships be provided for, and are hereby empowered to provide for, and relieve them as their necessity in their discretion doth require, and the town to defray the charge thereof.'

June 3, 1684. The Court taking into their serious consideration the inconvenience likely to ensue by persons erecting fences, gates, and bars, thawrt country highways to the annoyance of travellers, enacted 'that all necessary country ways within the colony before the October Court next ensuing, should be laid out, at the charge of the respective towns through whose lands or townships such ways may lead. It was then to be reported to the clerk of each town through which it should pass, under penalty of £5 to be paid by the neglecting towns. The clerk was to send a copy to the public secretary to have it recorded.

High-
ways.

After October, such persons as caused obstructions in such ways, were to be fined £5, 'and if any obstruction thereafter shall be made or maintained,' it was made the duty of the surveyors of ways in each town 'to remove every such obstruction and demolish such public nuisances.'

In November, 1677, two more Courts were authorized to be holden by selectmen in December and May.

Town's
Select-
men, &c.

In 1681, the selectmen were required to be under oath, and the secretary was required to furnish them with a book containing all the orders of Court. It was also ordered 'that in every town of the jurisdiction three men should be chosen, and joined with them of the commissioned officers to be of the town council.'

At the same time the choice of selectmen was 'directed to be specified in the warrants that are to be sent down to the different towns for the choice of his majesty's officers, and their names were to be returned to the Court

under the constable's hands, and so to be called in court to take the oath. If prevented, to appear before a magistrate in one month, under penalty of 20s.

At select courts, if plaintiff did not reside in the same town where the case was pending, it was required that they should put in caution to repair the defendant if found innocent, before the plaintiff have summons granted him.

The selectmen instead of receiving their pay at the returning of the verdict, were to receive it at the entry of the action.

The plaintiff or defendant could require a subpoena out of the town where the action was depending from the selectmen of that town who were to report the evidence to the selectmen who had jurisdiction of the action. Persons under these circumstances refusing or neglecting to testify, to forfeit 20s; 5s. only to be allowed an attorney, and if 'entertained' only one day, 2s. 6d.

In 1682, towns were required to have their bounds set out within twelve months by persons appointed by the Court of Assistants, unless already done, who were to decide all differences. The towns or the selectmen to appoint two or three persons, 'who on notice given to, or by the adjacent towns, shall once in two or three years view the bounds, which shall be heaps of stones or trenches six feet long, a foot and a half deep, and two feet broad, under a penalty of £5 to neglecting towns.'

1679. Constables were empowered without warrant to make distress for rates, and were authorized to act as water-bailiffs within their respective plantations. In the same year, sealers of leather were authorized to search for and seize all defective leather, whether worked up or not, and after a certain legal process, it was to be forfeited. The sealer refusing to perform his duty, or performing it negligently or corruptly, to forfeit 20s.

In 1682, a law was passed for the regulation of proprietaries. Several tracts of land in the colony were held in common by proprietors. No order had as yet been made 'for their orderly meeting together, to divide the said lands, or to make orders for the settlement of the same.' It was enacted 'where need doth require in any such place or township, if the matter do not concern the town as a town in general, that upon the request of the proprietors or some of them to any magistrate of the colony, to notify a meeting of the proprietors, and that the doings of a majority of the proprietors should be binding.'

Proprietaries.

The law of 1673 permitting persons to kill horses trespassing was repealed, and all persons were prohibited from taking up horses as strays, running in the woods between April 1 and December 1, under penalty of 10s. and damage. Swine doing damage after notice were to be ringed under penalty of 1s. Fences between the owners of improved lands by a law of 1682 were to be maintained in equal parts. One commencing improvement before his neighbor, and making the whole fence, if the other afterwards improved, he was to pay for and maintain one half of it. Any one ceasing to improve, the other might purchase his part after the appraisement of indifferent men. Two improving, and one neglecting to maintain his half, the one making the whole might cause it to be viewed and appraised by persons mutually chosen. One refusing to choose, the other might choose indifferent persons to appraise, and one still refusing was to pay the other the cost and charges for one half. This law did not apply to common fields; any enclosure there, was to be at the expense of him who made it.

Trespassing animals, fences, &c.

Proprietors of lands in common fields unfenced, that shall not once in one or two years after notice attend such

meeting to keep up the bounds between him and his neighbors which shall be sufficient meet stones, shall forfeit 10s., 'and two or three men shall be appointed to decide the controversy or difference between the neighbors, or between the towns or any of the inhabitants about the bounds of their lands, saving the grieved person his remedy in law.'

Public
morals,
&c.

In 1677, the laws respecting the sales of strong liquors and wines were renewed and the penalties increased, and the sale was forbidden to all except strangers, and not to them without license ; and the fines for the breach of this law were to be paid in silver.

In 1682, the people were required to refrain from work and recreation on fast and thanksgiving days, and from travelling on the sabbath, and on 'lecture days.' Inn-keepers were to clear their houses of all persons 'able to go to meeting' except strangers.

Wrecked vessels were to be forfeited, if liquor was sold from them by foreigners.

Fisheries.

In 1678, to protect the farmers of the fisheries, the Court ordered that all vessels not belonging to the colony should be seized for the colony's use by warrant from the governor or one of his assistants, and that the damage done to those who farmed the privileges, should be paid out of the proceeds of the vessel. The people of Massachusetts, however, were permitted to use the fisheries in common with themselves.

In 1682, the law prohibiting the taking of fish, before they spawned, was renewed by the Court.

In 1684, the taking of mackerel ashore with seines or nets was prohibited under the forfeiture of the seines, nets, vessels, and boats employed therein. The forfeitures were to be divided between the informer and the colony, and magistrates were authorized to issue warrants to persons, empowering them as water-bailiffs to make such seizures.

In 1682, a law was passed for the preservation of ships ^{Wrecks.} and vessels wrecked within the jurisdiction.

In the same year the governor was authorized by law to compel artificers to work on the prison.

The towns were ordered to provide stocks and whipping posts.

In 1681, goods taken by distress or execution to be appraised by appraisers, one to be chosen by the debtor and one by the creditor, either neglecting, the constable or marshal to choose one for him; in case of disagreement the constable or marshal to be the third. If any debtor should refuse to set forth goods near the amount of the debt, the constable or marshal were authorized to seize such goods 'as may best suit, to be equally and indifferently prized according to special due, and not overprized.' ^{Debts, civil processes, &c.}

In 1682, any debt due by bill or specialty by another, 'shall be as good a debt to the assigned as it was to the assignee, and as recoverable by suit, provided the assignment be under the assignor's hand, and witnesses thereunto.'

All deceitful and fraudulent alienations of land or other estates to defeat a just creditor, were made invalid.

And no deed, or conveyance, or promise given under threats of imprisonment or compulsion was valid.

In 1683, the Court directed the following order to be issued to the several town clerks. 'It is enacted by the Court that all actions of debt proper to any of the select courts, where the plaintiff lives in one town and the defendant in another, shall be tried in either where the plaintiff pleases, and all actions proper to any of the select courts against strangers and non-residents, and persons living out of the township, shall be tried in any of the select courts where the plaintiff shall choose.

The selectmen were empowered to grant summons or attachments to the parties or constables of towns in the said cases at any plaintiff's request, and to grant executions in other cases as in their own town they may do by law.

1679. Costs in all actions were ordered to be paid in silver. Executions for debt, in specie, according to contract and rates and fines, specie not being tendered or found. The goods levied or distrained, to be sold at out-cry after notice ; but in 1681 this law was repealed.

Account
books
with the
oath of
the plain-
tiff per-
mitted as
evidence.

In July, 1682, a law was passed by which the book of accounts of merchants and shopkeepers, was permitted with the supplemental oath of the parties in interest, their factors or servants, to be used as evidence in the trial of actions.

The defendant was also admitted to take his oath, and where the oaths of the parties were contradictory, ' then the case was to be tried and determined according to the best and strongest presumptions the parties concerned can, or shall procure.'

This law is said to be peculiar to New England, and this is the first law which admitted such evidence. It became necessary from the peculiar circumstances of the settlers. In a long trading intercourse this evidence was almost indispensable to secure the ends of justice, and it was considered less dangerous to admit an interested party to prove his debt in this mode than to refuse the only evidence, by which the greatest proportion of the debts due to individuals in the colony could be proved.

Written
evidence
or depo-
sitions.

' All evidences presented to the Court were to be kept on file, and none were to be admitted written by the plaintiff or defendant or either of their attorneys, but by some indifferent person, and in the witnesses' own words, and they were to be strictly examined by the Court or

magistrate, as the case may require for clearing of the truth.'

The witnesses only 'who for weight of matter were justly required,' were to have 2s. 6d. a day; others 1s. 6d.

Witnesses.

At the July session of the Court, the governor for the time being, with three or four of the assistants 'or such other substantial persons as the governor should appoint, were created a Court of Admiralty, either by themselves, or together with a jury empaneled for trials as the case may require. And in pursuance of his majesty's special command an act was voted at the same session of the Court, which was summoned together for this occasion, *nemine contradicente*, to restrain and punish privateers and pirates.

Courts of admiralty, piracies, &c.

By this act it was made felony, and punishable with death for any inhabitant of the colony to commit hostilities on the high seas in the service and under the flag of any foreign power, upon the subjects of another foreign power in amity with England, unless he had special license for so doing under the hand of the governor; but such as were then employed in such service, returning and rendering themselves to the governor before the 10th of December next ensuing, and giving him such security for good behavior as he should require, were not to be punished under this law.

The Court of Admiralty were authorized to try all crimes committed on the high seas or its waters. And all trials had before, by commission from the colonial governments, were made valid.

Those who harbored, comforted, aided or abetted privateers or pirates, were made liable to prosecution as accessaries and confederates.

All commissioned officers were authorized to apprehend any violators of the law, and resistance to them was

declared felony without the benefit of clergy. Such officers neglecting their duty were to be fined £50, and all persons refusing to obey such officers, were made liable to a fine or corporal punishment, by sentence of a regimental court-marshal.

Laws and orders for the regulation and government of the Indians.

In July, 1677, the Court passed a law by which all Indians were forbidden to appear at Plymouth at the time of the sitting of the Courts except 'upon special occasions,' without an order from a magistrate or a selectman, under the penalty of 5s. fine, or a whipping, and it was also made penal for the English to lend the Indians any silver money.

In November, 1677, a severe order was passed against all foreigners who traded within the jurisdiction with the Indians.

In 1682, persons charged with selling strong drink to the Indians and clearing themselves by oath, were not to be compelled to swear further than to that particular accusation.

At the July Court of 1682, general regulations were made concerning the Indians, which were in the following terms :

'Laws and orders made by the General Court holden at Plymouth, July 7, 1682, with reference to the Indians, for their better regulating, that they may be brought to live orderly, soberly, and diligently.

'It is enacted by the Court and the authority thereof, that in each town of this jurisdiction where Indians live, one able, discreet man be appointed by the Court of Assistants from time to time, as often as need shall require, to take oversight and government of the Indians in the said town, according to such laws, and orders, and institutions, as shall be made and given by the General Court.

‘It is enacted by the Court that the said overseers with the tithingmen, in that, shall have power to hear and determine all causes that may happen between Indian and Indian; capital cases and titles of land only excepted, always allowing liberty of appeal to any party grieved at their judgment, to the Court of assistants.

‘That the overseer shall have power by warrant under his hand, to command any English constable in his township, and all Indian constables whatsoever, to arrest, attach, summons, and serve executions on the body or goods of any of the Indians, for any matter or cause, that may in his Court be heard and determined.

‘That in each town where Indians do reside, every tenth Indian shall be chosen by the Court of Assistants and said overseer yearly, who shall take the inspection over, and oversight of his nine men, and present their faults and misdemeanors to the overseer, which said overseer shall keep a list of the names of the said tithingmen, and those they shall have a charge of, and the said tithingman shall be joined to the overseer in the administration of justice, and in the hearing and determining of causes, and in case the tithingman do not agree with the overseers in any cause that may come before them in judgment, then the said overseer shall have a negative voice, and such cases shall be removed to the Court of Assistants to be determined.

‘That the overseers and tithingmen shall appoint constables of the Indians yearly, who shall attend their courts, and the constables shall obey all the warrants of the overseers, on such penalty as the Court of Assistants shall inflict.

‘Every Indian shall pay such rates for his head and estate as the Court of Assistants shall appoint from time to time, which rates shall be made proportioned by the overseers’ Courts, and gathered by the constables and delivered to the treasurer or his order.

‘That once every year the overseer summons all the Indians within his township to meet together, where and when he shall appoint, and then shall he cause to be read to their understanding all the capital and criminal laws of this colony, that they may know and observe them.

‘That every Indian in the colony shall be subject to all capital and criminal laws that shall be made for the English in this colony, and for the breach of them shall suffer the same penalties, where no other law is provided for them.’

‘That all Indians for drunkenness shall be severely punished; for the first default to pay a fine of 5s. or be whipt; for the second transgression, 10s. or be whipt; and so for every time any of them is convicted of drunkenness before a Court, magistrate, overseer, tithingmen, or English constables.

‘As an addition to a law made November, 1676, prohibiting all such Indians to bear arms who were our enemies, it is further enacted that the overseer of the Indians in each town shall take special notice and make inquiry from time to time what of the said Indians have procured any English arms, and seize the same for the use of the colony, allowing one half the value to the informer.

‘It is enacted by the Court that no foreign Indians of other colonies or plantations shall be suffered to hunt in any town or plantation of this colony without a permit from the selectmen of that town where they desire to hunt, shewing how long they desire to stay, on penalty of the forfeiture of all such furs and skins as they shall there get. Nor shall any strange Indians have a permit to hunt in this colony, unless they bring a certificate from the place whence they came.

‘Whereas, the Indians by their disorderly removing from one place to another, live loosely, and on the labors of

others, and spend their time to no profit. It is therefore enacted by the Court, that no Indian whatsoever shall remove from one place to another without a permit in writing from his overseer, declaring for what reasons and how long, and whither, he and they are going ; and if any Indian do run from any place to another without this permit, they shall be taken up by the constable of that place where such wanderer shall be found, and carried before the next overseer, who shall cause him to pay a fine of 5s. or be whipt and sent home to his own place ; and when no overseer is to be found, the English constable in the town where such Indian shall be found, shall execute his office as the overseer abovenamed, nor shall any Indian remove from one plantation to another, to abide about three days, but shall go to the overseer of that town whither he is removed, for his permit, declaring for what cause he came thither, and how long he or they desire to stay ; and if any Indian stay in any place without a permit in writing as abovesaid, he shall be fined 5s. or be whipt, and also sent back to any place of his former abode.

‘ Forasmuch as the office of overseer is and will be burthensome and chargeable, it is therefore enacted that he shall be allowed out of the public treasury a yearly salary.

‘ That said overseers and constables shall be accountable to the treasurer for all Indian rates and fines.

‘ It is enacted by the Court and the authority thereof, that if any Indian who is a servant to the English, shall run away amongst any of the Indians, such Indians, where such a runaway Indian is come, shall forthwith give notice of the runaway to the Indian constable, who shall immediately apprehend such Indian servant, and carry him or her before the overseer or next magistrate, who shall cause such servants to be whipt and sent home by the constable

to his or her master, who shall pay such constable for his service therein, according as the magistrate or overseer who sent such servant home shall judge meete.

‘This Court doth request our honored governor that now is, to take the general care, oversight, and inspection of the judgment of the Indians, in such manner as by law is, or shall be prescribed from time to time, and to take care of the preaching of the gospel amongst them, and admitting such of the Indians to preach to them as he shall think fittest for that service, and also to distribute amongst them, what for that end comes yearly from England, and is allowed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in such manner as he shall see meete.’

A law was also passed at this Court that no Indian should be trusted, and actions to recover debts against them were barred.

Any persons presuming to buy guns, tools, or clothes of Indians, was obliged to return them to the right owner if stolen, borrowed, or purloined.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR EDMUND ANDROS, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR 1687 TO HIS DEPOSITION IN APRIL, 1689.

SOON after the accession of James II. to the throne of England, it was discovered that he held the laws and constitution in little estimation.

A tyrant in disposition, and a bigot in practice, he was determined to substitute his will for the law of the land, and his own notions for the religion of the Bible.

From him the Puritans of New England had nothing to hope, and much to fear, and they well knew that the vindictive intolerance which spared not even the national church, would visit them with severer laws, and more oppressive penalties; and although it was pretended that the king was anxious to secure a universal toleration, they were sufficiently sagacious to perceive that the toleration, which he sought was merely to relieve the Catholics from the penalties and disabilities of the law, and to enable them to inflict penalties more severe, and disabilities more intolerable, on others, and to restore the spiritual dominion of the Pope over the whole of his dominions.

The first proceedings were against Massachusetts; and during the reign of King Charles, a process of *quo warranto* was issued, which terminated in the revocation of their charter. The charter of Rhode Island was surrendered, and it was pretended that Connecticut had surrendered hers also.

Joseph Dudley on the 15th of May, 1686, received a commission which constituted him president of a council, to whom the whole administration of affairs both executive and legislative was entrusted, in Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and Maine, and of the king's province in the Narragansett country.

As yet, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, were spared, and the ancient governments permitted to continue, but this lenity did not endure long.

On the 29th of December, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Boston, bringing with him an enlarged commission, which vested the government of all the New England Colonies in him as governor, and in a council nominated by the crown, and in 1688 New York was included in his commission. From the commencement of the year 1687 to the end of April, 1689, he exercised a power over these colonies little short of despotic. During this period the history of Plymouth being blended with that of the other colonies, is of a general, rather than of an individual character.

It is true that the arrival of Sir Edmund relieved the people from much apprehension, and although he came armed with a power which in reality was subversive of their liberties, yet inasmuch as they were freed from the terror which they had anticipated in being governed by the savage Colonel Kirk, afterwards so infamously distinguished by the cruelties which he practised upon all those who favored the cause of the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth, and who had been actually appointed by king Charles II. to the office now bestowed on Andros; they received the latter not only without any strong indications of displeasure, but with satisfaction; but they soon discovered that they had not much reason to congratulate themselves on the change.

Andros made fair professions at first, and for a time his conduct comported with his professions, but he soon threw off the mask and commenced a system of insufferable tyranny. All power was placed in his hands and in his council, but most of the counsellors soon retired in disgust, and left him only with his own creatures to sanction his measures. The council consisted of Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, John Pyncheon, Richard Wharton, John Usher, Bartholomew Gidney, John Tyng, Edward Tyng, Samuel Shrimpton, and William Brown of Massachusetts; Robert Mason and John Hinks of New Hampshire; Anthony Brockholdst, Francis Nicholson, Frederic Phillips, Anthony Baxter, Henry Cortland, John Young, Nicholas Bayard, and John Palmer, of New York; Thomas Hinckley, Barnabas Lothrop, William Bradford, Daniel Smith, John Sprague, John Walley, and Nathaniel Clarke of Plymouth; Walter Clarke, Walter Newberry, John Greene, Richard Arnold, John Alborow, and Richard Smith, of Rhode Island; Robert Treat, John Fitz-Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, and John Allin, of Connecticut; Edward Randolph and John Cothill were also of the council.

The public business was soon left to the management of Palmer, Brockholdst, Mason, Usher, and Randolph, who were all creatures of the governor; West his secretary; Bullivant and Graham were also confidential advisers. This knot of sycophants and parasites soon engrossed his ear, and the effect of secret and evil councils was soon experienced in the oppression of individuals, and evidenced in the dismay of the people.

The press was subjected to restraint.

Bonds were directed to be given to the governor, to ensure the validity of marriages.

The people were threatened with the loss of their meeting-houses and the freedom of worship.

Governor Hinckley was contemptuously reprov'd and threatened, for exacting taxes from the Quakers for the support of congregational worship, in pursuance of the laws.

Those who scrupled 'to swear by the book' were fined and imprisoned.

The governor as supreme ordinary, compelled the people to resort to Boston to do the ordinary probate business relating to the settlement of estates, &c. from the remotest parts of his government.

He declared that the titles to land were invalid in consequence of the vacation of the charters, and demanded exorbitant fees for confirmatory patents.

Clark's Island in Plymouth harbor, which had been appropriated by the town of Plymouth for the support of the towns poor was granted without color of claim to Nathaniel Clarke one of his creatures; and Mr Faunce and the Rev. Mr Wiswall the minister of Duxbury, for their interference in that matter, were fined, and compelled to pay costs, and bound over to appear at the superior court at Boston. Mr Wiswall was afterwards imprisoned, and underwent many hardships.

Shadrach Wilbore, the town-clerk of Taunton, was imprisoned at Plymouth for refusing to give up the town records.

The governor, with a few of his council, imposed all taxes.

All town-meetings, excepting one for the choice of town-officers, were prohibited.

John Gold, of Topsfield, was fined £50 for uttering treasonable expressions.

Mr Appleton of Ipswich, and Mr Wise the minister of that town, were imprisoned for remonstrating against the taxes.

Randolph forged a letter, purporting to be from Increase Mather, the minister of Boston, in order to bring him into difficulty, and even had the impudence to petition for half an acre of land on the Boston common, for a house lot.

The situation of New England was similar to that of England after the extinction of Monmouth's rebellion. Society seemed in a manner to have come to a stand. The minds of the people were filled with vague and indefinite apprehensions of evil. The objects most valued by men were in danger. Religion, property, and personal liberty, all were threatened, and the ancient charters, once the shield and protection of each, were annulled. Men had no security for their rights, or remedy for their wrongs. Resistance would have incurred the imputation of rebellion, and the hazard of outlawry and death. Evils already existing were considered as the precursors of greater evils. The issue of Monmouth's rebellion in England, the savage cruelties of Kirk, and the savage sentences of Jeffries, were considered but as the types of the unrelenting doom to which the monarch would consign them. The bold desponded, and the timid despaired. The voice of just complaint sunk to a feeble whisper, and the fierce and daring spirit of New England for the first time was cowed; the people did not indeed crouch to the oppressor, but submitted with gloomy reluctance to a power which they hated, but could not resist.

At this period of general despondency, the late governor of Plymouth, Mr Hinckley, had the courage to lay at the foot of the throne the complaints of the people. In their behalf, acting for the Plymouth colony, he preferred a petition, in which the king was asked,

‘ That his majesty’s subjects in New England might be quieted in possession of all property, both in houses and lands, as they enjoyed them before the government was changed on the 24th of May, 1686 ; and that the ancient records then settled for title of lands, may be confirmed.

‘ That there be liberty of conscience in matters of religion ; that their former methods of swearing in giving evidence may be allowed ; and that all their meeting-houses may be left free to them according to the intention of the builders thereof.

‘ That no laws may be made nor moneys raised there, without the consent of a General Assembly, as it is in the other plantations.

‘ That all townships may have liberty to assemble and manage the business of their several precincts as under the former government, and have power to receive and dispose of all voluntary contributions.

‘ That the college at Cambridge in New England, and the revenues thereunto belonging, be confirmed in the hands of a president and fellows as formerly.’

This petition, and all others, were unheeded by the king, who seemed to be influenced by a blind infatuation, which, as it rendered him insensible to the perils by which he was immediately surrounded, could scarcely have been expected to have permitted him to become sensible of those which were more remote.

In this state of public feeling, Andros undertook an expedition against the Eastern Indians ; and compelled detachments of militia to march against them at the most inclement season of the year. Many of the English died in consequence of fatigue and suffering, and not a single Indian was captured or killed.

In this undertaking an attempt was made by the governor to secure the services of Captain Church, the cele-

brated partizan in Philip's war. Church was invited to Boston, importuned with great earnestness to engage, and soothed with many flattering expressions of regard and esteem. But he was wary, and although he had an interview with the governor, the opinions of his friends prevailed, and he declined the service.

In this way Sir Edmund Andros administered the affairs of his extensive government for a period of nearly two years and four months, and until he had exhausted the patience and forbearance of the people.

On the last of April 1689, a rumor reached Boston that the Prince of Orange had landed in England. The smothered fire which had been so long smouldering in its ashes, blazed up at once. Indignant at their wrongs, the people without waiting to ascertain the truth of the rumor, seized their arms, proclaimed William and Mary king and queen of England, arrested the governor, and confined him at the castle, (which they now called Castle William,) compelled him to resign, terminated the government, and restored their old governor, Simon Bradstreet, then at the age of eightyseven, who was called to the chair not by the forms of a regular election, but by acclamation.

Information of this transaction was sent to Plymouth. The people there imprisoned Nathaniel Clarke, one of the creatures of Andros, and one of his council, and issued the following declaration :

'A declaration of sundry of the inhabitants of Plymouth, April 22, 1689 ;

'Whereas we have not only just grounds to suspect, but are well assured, that Nathaniel Clarke hath been a real enemy to the peace and prosperity of this people, and hath by lying and false information to the late governor, caused much trouble and damage to this place, endeavoring to deprive us of our lands, and exposing us

to the unjust severity of persons ill-affected to us, whereby a considerable part of our estates is unrighteously extorted from us, to the great prejudice of our families and the loss of many necessary comforts, and he persisting from time to time in his malicious forging complaints against one or other of us, whereby we are in continual hazard of many further great inconveniences and mischiefs: we do therefore seize upon his person, resolving to secure him for the hands of justice to deal with him according to his demerit.'

The seizure of Clarke, who was excessively odious for his meanness and rapacity, was the only act of violence committed in the Plymouth colony.*

* Sir Edmund Andros rose to favor and office under the patronage of James II., and became the governor of all New England and New York.

After the accession of William and Mary, he was sent home for trial; instead of punishment, he had the address to obtain a high mark of favor from the king and queen, and was appointed to the government of Virginia, and in little more than two years from the time of his disgrace at Boston, he appeared there (February, 1692) as the governor of that ancient province, and remained in office until 1698, when he was superseded by Francis Nicholson. Whether he had learned wisdom from misfortune, or found a people whose opinions and habits were more congenial to his own, it is certain that few of the governors of Virginia were more beloved. He died in London, February 24, 1713-14.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT AND LOCAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF BRISTOL.—
 SETTLEMENT OF LITTLE COMPTON, FREETOWN, FALMOUTH, ROCHESTER,
 AND THE PLANTATION OF MONAMOYCK.—PROGRESS OF THE OTHER
 TOWNS OF THE COLONY.—DIVISION OF THE COLONY INTO COUNTIES.

BETWEEN the termination of the Indian war and the termination of the colonial government, five new towns within the Plymouth jurisdiction were settled and incorporated. The first was

BRISTOL.

The fine lands of the Mount Hope and Poppysquash peninsulas or necks, now the town of Bristol in Rhode Island, remained in the possession of the Aborigines until the termination of the Indian war at the close of the year 1676. These were the last spots left uncovered by the deluge of English population. Mount Hope or Keckimuet was the residence of Massasoiet and of his celebrated and unfortunate son, and the metropolis of the Indian Pokanoket, embracing the whole colony of Plymouth, a part of Massachusetts, and the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

The General Court passed an order for the sale of these and other conquered lands. The Mount Hope lands were afterwards specially confirmed to Plymouth by king

Charles II. A committee was appointed by the General Court to sell them. Josias Winslow the governor, Thomas Hinckley, and William Bradford, three of the committee in consideration of £300 sterling on the 14th of September, 1680, conveyed them by deed to John Walley, Esq. Colonel Nathaniel Byefield, Stephen Burton, Esq. and Nathaniel Oliver, all of Boston. Major Walley and Col. Byefield were amongst the most distinguished persons of Massachusetts; they with Mr Burton removed to Mount Hope and laid out this town, of which, they must be considered the fathers and founders. The town was incorporated in the same year, (1680,) and called Bristol. The share of Mr Oliver was sold to Nathan Hayman. The four great proprietors reserved to themselves one eighth each, and sold the remainder. By the terms of the sale 'a town for trade' was to be established on this territory; for this purpose, one hundred and twentyeight lots were regularly laid out. Bristol now comprises nearly all the original lands.

The early settlers were—

Col. Nathaniel Byefield,	Nathaniel Paine, (from Swansea,)
Major John Walley,	John Pope,
Stephen Burton, Esq.,	Nathaniel Bosworth,
Benjamin Church, (the warrior,)	John Cary, (from London, England,)
Jabez Gorham, (from Barnstable,)	Samuel Waldron, (from Boston,)
Nathaniel Reynolds,	William Brenton, (from Swansea or
John Wilkins,	Taunton,)
Christopher Saunders, (from Rehoboth,)	Watching Atherton,
Daniel Landon, (or Langdon,)	Jonathan Finny,
Jonathan Davenport,	Jabez Howland, (from Plymouth,)
Samuel Gallop,	William Ingraham,
John Hinton,	Timothy Ingraham,
Nathan Hayman,	John Rogers,
Samuel Cobbit,	Philip Bompe,
William Troupe,	Henry Hampton,
Timothy Clarke,	Jeremiah Osborne,
Joseph Baster,	John Smith,
	Usal Wardel,

Zacchary Curtis,	Richard White,
John White,	John Birge,
Hugh Woodbury,	William Browne,
Eliashib Adams,	John Corps,
Simon Davis,	James Lloyd,
James Landon, (or Langdon,)	William Stone,
Solomon Curtis,	John Saffin, (from Boston.)

The settlement of Bristol commenced about ten years previous to the dissolution of the Plymouth government ; in five years it was the most thriving town in that colony, and was constituted in 1685, (when the colony was divided into counties,) the metropolis of the county named in honor of the town, Bristol.

Benjamin Woodbridge is believed to have been the first minister of Bristol, he went there soon after the purchase of the lands, and removed from there previous to the year 1688.

Samuel Lee came to Bristol early in 1688. On the 18th of May the four proprietors gave him a ten acre lot, which had been previously reserved for the use of the ministry, and in that year he was settled as the pastor of the town.

Mr Lee was born in England, and had been a fellow of Wadham College, and in 1651 proctor of the University of Oxford. Being disgusted with the ecclesiastical proceedings at the commencement of the reign of James II, he emigrated to America. It was said that he was invited to preside over Harvard College. He was the author of a large work written in Latin, and entitled '*De Excidio Antichristi*,' and also of a description of Solomon's temple in folio, (1659.) He was also the author of a book which Dr Eliot says was much read in New England, entitled '*The Triumph of Mercy in the Chariot of Praise*,' and of another entitled the '*Joy of Faith*,' and a discourse

upon the ten tribes: several single sermons of his were printed.

He is represented as having been eccentric and 'extravagant in speech,' and truly, if the address to king William, written for the Plymouth government, (but never sent,) and attributed to him, be a fair sample of his general style. 'We humbly beg your excellent majesty, (says the writer,) that you would indulge this first plantation of our dear Lord in New England's Plymouth, within the garden of your royal bosom, to protect and amplify our privileges, according as your sagacious wisdom and tender love may judge mete, upon our further addresses to your majesty, in any further particular requests, and we shall most devoutly and humbly supplicate the great God of heaven to give your majesty the grand march of honor, to be successful in all what your majesty hath been pleased to design to undertake for the reformed cause throughout the world, that under Christ, you may not only, like another Augustus, dilate your empire to the Eastern, but that both the Indies may be enriched with such diamonds and spices, that are the ornaments of the Celestial Jerusalem, under your prosperous and heavenly-directed conduct.' All the contemporaries of Mr Lee represent him as a man of genius and learning; if it was so, he furnishes a rare instance, in such, of a most perverted and sophisticated taste, mistaking hyperboles and strained metaphors for genuine eloquence.

Dr Eliot says he was rich, haughty, and overbearing, and that he had conceived a most insuperable dislike to America, which was heartily reciprocated by the people.

After the accession of king William he resolved to return to England, and embarked in 1691. On his passage he was captured by a French privateer and carried

into St. Maloes. He was treated with such extreme cruelty, that he died before he reached England.*

Major John Walley was a gentleman of much consideration and influence in Massachusetts, and was soon elected an assistant in Plymouth, and acquired an equal influence there.

Colonel Nathaniel Byefield was born in England of a parentage very respectable. His father, Richard Byefield, was one of the Assembly of Divines; his mother the sister of Bishop Juxon. He came to America in 1680, and immediately became interested in the purchase of Mount Hope. He established his residence on the beautiful peninsula of Poppysquash, which he finally engrossed. When the colony of Plymouth was divided into counties, he was appointed chief justice of the court established in the new county; his associates were the warrior Church and John Browne of Swansey, (grandson of the first John Browne.) In 1689, he wrote an account of the proceedings against Sir Edmund Andros and the revolution in New England, which was published in England in the same year.

The junction of Plymouth and Massachusetts gave a new turn to his views and a new impulse to his ambition, and involved him in a course of political controversy, which terminated only with his life, and made him one of the most conspicuous and leading characters in the province of Massachusetts Bay.*

* The Hon. John Saffin married his daughter Rebecca; John George of Boston, his daughter Lydia; Henry Wyrley of Bristol, his daughter Anne.

Mr Wyrley soon returned to England. Elizabeth Lee another daughter, returned to England and married John Bishop, linen-draper, of the city of London. These ladies were heiresses.

The Rev. John Sparhawk succeeded Mr Lee as the pastor of Bristol.

* As Colonel Byefield may be considered the principal founder of Bristol,

The character of Colonel Byefield was not so elevated as to command the veneration of the people, or so low as

some further particulars of his life and character may not be unappropriate in this work, although not particularly connected with the exclusive history of Plymouth.

The character of the early population of Massachusetts exhibited strong and peculiar traits; even their virtues were carried to such extremes that they seemed to have had some alliance to resembling vices, sometimes their courage degenerated into rashness, their firmness into obstinacy, their patriotism into factiousness, and their hatred of heresy and false religion into cruel and atrocious bigotry. In the course of nearly a century and a half, the history of Massachusetts presents two remarkable epochs, during which the character of the people was unchanged, but the objects of excitement were very different.

From the settlement of the colony in 1630, to the issuing of the *quo warranto* in the latter part of the reign of Charles II., their burning spirits flamed out in polemical and religious controversies of the most violent and vindictive character, terminating generally in the banishment of the defeated party, and exercising its savage bigotry upon offending individuals. This spirit became extinct when the civil rights were in danger, but from its ashes came forth another consuming fire, which was only extinguished by the blood of those convicted of witchcraft. The last ebullition of popular rage was only an interruption to the progress of political contentions, and the struggle for political rights, which, commencing with the loss of the charter, gave a new aspect to controversy, and wrought new channels for the passions; and although after this period much apprehension was expressed that the congregational religion might be subjected to restraints and impositions, yet the real fear was, that the congregational party might lose its political influence.

In this memorable controversy, two distinguished persons, both bearing the name of Elisha Cooke, father and son, wielded the fierce democracy of the province for half a century; the first dared to dictate to royalty, and to say in the presence, 'the old charter or none.' Never was a contest conducted with more persevering resolution, or with a more fearless and determined spirit. In the House of Representatives, the unceasing dispute with the royal governors was conducted by the Cookes; in their school those doctrines were taught, those habits of fearless investigation touching the supremacy of Parliament and the royal prerogative were acquired, and those principles digested and established which eventually produced an event which was scarcely contemplated; this controversy for free principles endured for nearly a century, and its crisis was the Revolution.

It was the fortune of Colonel Byefield to have been accidentally thrown into the struggle as the coadjutor of the Cookes, and as a champion of the democratic party, and to have wrought and suffered in a cause for which perhaps he felt but little attachment. But secondary men are always fashioned by

to incur their contempt. Generally honest, he was capable of duplicity; his ambition was overweening, and his

circumstances, and follow in the paths which bolder spirits have opened. The Cookes contended for principles, Byefield for office; the Cookes for popular rights, Byefield for revenge; and yet they contended on the same side, and suffered alike. Such is the composition of parties; the loftiest motives are mingled with the basest; the most disinterested patriotism with the most sordid selfishness!

Colonel Byefield much to his honor, resisted the insane fanaticism of the people during their delusion on the subject of witchcraft, and condemned the conduct of the Court with much severity.

In November, 1693, then being a representative in the General Court from Bristol, he was elected Speaker of the House, and so was the second Speaker under the provincial charter. In 1696, 1697, and 1698, he was elected a representative from Boston. In 1698 he was again elected speaker, and he was often a counsellor. Being a person of great enterprise and inordinate ambition, he commenced a course of political intrigue and opposition, to bring about his great end, which was to obtain the office of governor of the province.

He was no friend to Sir William Phipps, and was very much disliked by Increase Mather, who exercised a powerful influence over the legislative bodies.

In 1702, by the appointment of Governor Dudley, he succeeded Mr Saffin in the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Bristol, which he retained until 1710.

In 1703, he was appointed Judge of the Court of Admiralty, from which he was displaced in 1715. Having been harshly and injuriously reprov'd for some judicial proceedings, in open council, by Governor Dudley, he conceived for him such an implacable dislike, that he determined to make a powerful effort to supplant him; for this purpose he went to England in 1714. Dudley's influence had evidently declined, and he was tottering in his place.

The celebrated Jeremiah Dummer, the agent of Massachusetts, was then in London. In a letter to Dr Colman he gives a lively account of Colonel Byefield's conduct there.

'The second time (says he) that gentleman (Colonel Byefield) and I met, was at my chambers, where we soon came to a full understanding with each other with respect to the present governor. I told him that both my duty and my inclination led me to stand by his commission, with what friends and interest I could make; and he replied, that he would by the help of God, get him turned out, and therein please God and all good men. Accordingly we have both been pretty diligent, but I think he is now a little out of breath. His age makes him impatient of the fatigues of application, and his frugality makes him sick of coach-hire, fees to officers and door-keepers, and other

resentments implacable. Sometimes he exhibited the appearance of public spirit, and seemed to feel its impulse, although his frugality bordered on meanness. Of imposing manners, respectable talents, ardent passions, and an enterprising disposition, he always contrived to preserve a large share of the public respect, and the gross accusations of Jeremy Dummer, that he was regardless of truth,

expenses; so that I believe he now heartily wishes himself safe in his own government at Poppy-Squash. He is really an honest, worthy man, but he is so excessively hot against Colonel Dudley, that he cannot use anybody civilly that is for him. In a conversation I had with him before Mr Newman, he used me very unhandsomely. The argument was whether the General Assembly was for or against the governor. He said the latter, because they would not address for him; to which I answered my intelligence was, that Dr Noyes opposed it upon the foot of its being a bad precedent, which future governors might claim the advantage of, when they did not deserve it, and that thereupon the House rejected it. To this the Colonel in great indignation said, well, sir, then you say the whole House of Representatives are turned about by one man? Take notice, sir, that I shall go back again to New England. Upon this, I told him his inference was so disingenuous, and the menace he added was so little like a gentleman, that I would never talk with him any more on that subject, which I have strictly kept to, though we have frequently met since.'

In another letter of Dummer's to Mr Flint, dated in 1715, he says, 'What Colonel Byfield says of me, as well as of Sir William Ashhurt, is false; and I can assure you, I found him out in a good many lies whilst he was here, notwithstanding he is ever nauseously boasting of his honesty. As for his honor's negating me, he may do what he pleases, but I would have him consider that public places are held by a very slight and uncertain tenure, and that it is ill policy in him to make anybody his enemy.'

Byfield's interest was not sufficient to obtain the government, and it was bestowed on Colonel Shute, the brother of Lord Barrington; he returned to New England, and being chosen a counsellor in 1720, 1721, and 1722, was regularly negatived by Governor Shute, whose administration was disturbed by a more violent party contention than was ever known in Massachusetts. Shute left the government in 1723, and Byfield was again negatived as a counsellor by Lieutenant Governor Dummer. After that, he was chosen regularly and served until 1729, when he was left out by the House, but being in favor with Governor Burnet, he was again appointed Judge of Admiralty, and on the accession of Governor Belcher, who was his relation, he was appointed a Judge of the county of Suffolk, to the exclusion of Colonel Dudley, the son of his old enemy.

ought to be taken with much allowance ; Dummer was his enemy, and had learned his morals in the school of Lord Bolingbroke, whose tool for a time he was proud to be.

Stephen Burton, another of the four proprietors, was said to have been bred at Oxford. He was the first recording officer of the county, and in his office of clerk of the peace exercised the functions which are now performed by the register of probate, clerk of the court of common pleas and sessions, and register of deeds. His hand-writing was very beautiful, but in consequence of a disorder in the head he neglected his clerical duties, and died in 1692.

Nathaniel Oliver, the other proprietor, was a Boston merchant ; he never settled in Bristol. His share was sold to Nathan Hayman, a wealthy merchant and mariner. He died soon after his purchase.*

Nathaniel Paine, an early settler, succeeded Colonel Byfield as Judge of Probate in 1710.

John Cary, an early settler, originally a London merchant, succeeded to Mr Burton's offices.

John Saffin was an early proprietor in Swansea. He was born in England, but the date of his emigration to America is uncertain. In 1678 he bore a part in the ceremonies of Governor Leverett's funeral. In 1680 he is noticed as one of the assignees of the title of the Narragansett country, originally obtained by John Winthrop and Humphrey Atherton, and he was present in 1687, when Dudley as president of the council assumed the government of that country, and organized what was called the king's province. In 1684 and 1685 he was a deputy from Boston to the General Court, and in 1686 he

* Mr Hayman left two sons, Nathan and John ; one of his daughters married the Rev. William Brattle the minister of Cambridge, and one married Thomas Church.

was chosen speaker of the house, in which station he remained until the usurpation of Andros. On the 20th of May, 1686, he was chosen by the General Court of Massachusetts one of the confidential committee, to whom was entrusted the care of the charter and all the papers relating to it. Having married one of the daughters of the Rev. Mr Lee, he went to Bristol probably about the year 1688.

He was the first judge of probate in the county of Bristol from 1692 to 1702, when he was succeeded by Colonel Byfield. In 1701, he was appointed a judge of the superior court of Massachusetts, which office he held about a year. In 1703 his name was expunged from the list of the counsellors, by Governor Dudley.

He died at Bristol on the 29th of July, 1710.

It would seem that the latter years of Judge Saffin's life were embittered with fierce and violent contentions with his neighbors and family, and particularly with Col. Byfield and Major Walley, a curious retraction of certain charges against them in a manuscript pamphlet written by him and entitled 'The Original of the Town of Bristol, or a true narrative of the first settlement of Mount Hope Neck, &c' is in existence.* And as it discloses some facts of local interest, and exhibits the state of feeling and the causes of complaint at that period, and as it is a curious mode of reasserting charges under the form of a retraction, it is inserted entire.

'Whereas I, who have heretofore subscribed, am enjoyed by an award of arbitration dated the 7th of July, 1696, given under the hands and seals of the Hon. William Stoughton, lieutenant governor, Isaac Addington, Esq., and John Leverett, M. A. Fellow of Harvard College, to

* On the county records.

make a retraction and acknowledgment in writing under my hand of supposed ill treatment, wrong, and injury offered to Major John Walley and Captain Nathaniel Byfield, two of the first purchasers of Mount Hope Neck, by sundry reflections in a manuscript entitled 'the Original of the Town of Bristol, or a true narrative of the first settlement of Mount Hope Neck, &c.' which was made in behalf of the inhabitants of said town, who for divers years have complained and groaned under the grievances therein mentioned.

'Now, in order thereunto, I do hereby own and declare unto all mankind, that if breach of promise to a person or people, in a matter of great concernment, be no evil; if the chopping and changing of the town commons to the great prejudice of the town; obstructing and stopping up several ways leading to men's lands, (some of them that have been enjoyed above thirty years without molestation or disturbance,) to be tolerable and not a nuisance strictly prohibited by the laws of our nation, then I am exceedingly to blame in charging with evil in so doing. If the granting of land upon a good consideration, and upon the same promising to give a deed for the confirmation thereof, but delaying it, and after eight or nine years quiet possession by the grantee, these grantors give a deed of sale of the same lands unto others, if this, I say, be just and righteous dealing, then, &c; if the taking up and dividing amongst themselves, and converting to their own private use in farms and great pastures, the most of a very considerable number of one hundred and twentyeight house-lots and ten acre lots, which were by the four first purchasers in their grand articles under their hands and seals proposed, designed, and accordingly laid out, and declared to be for the encouragement, use, benefit, and accommodation, of so many families to build

upon and settle on Mount Hope Neck, (besides farms and bigger parcels of land,) to make a town of trade as they were enjoyed by the Court of Plymouth ;' I say if these actions of theirs be not prejudicial and injurious to the inhabitants of the town of Bristol, then I have done them wrong in saying or writing so.

' If the wilful suffering a certain water-mill, (built for the town's use,) to fall and go to decay and utter ruin for by ends and sinister respects, not repairing it themselves nor suffering others to do it, who have also some right in it, be not a wrong and abuse to the town, said purchasers making it first a great argument of encouragement for our men to come and buy land of them to settle, in order to a town of trade as aforesaid, which is at large set forth in their said articles, and backed with many specious pretences and verbal promises never fulfilled ; now if these things are right and just, then, &c.

' Again, if it be not an unrighteous thing in Major Walley to take and receive £10 of the town of Bristol, and also many days' works of them, promising and engaging himself for the same, to make a bridge over a certain creek in a way that should lead to said mill, but never performed it, nor returned the money again, but instead thereof hath stopped the way as aforesaid ; I say, if such doings and actions be just and right, then I have done them wrong in saying or writing to the contrary.

' And further, if the making a deed by three of the first purchasers for the dividing of sixteen of the remainder of the one hundred and twentyeight house-lots amongst four of them, pretending that Captain Nathan Hayman was then and therein acting with them as if he were alive, and did act and do as they did in all respects, (excepting subscribing his name,) for which they left a blank or space giving under their hands and seals, that on the twenty-

seventh day of June, 1690, if the said Nathan Hayman did with them personally oblige himself, his heirs, &c, in the same manner as they did, three or four times mentioned in the said deed, whereas the man was dead and in his grave eleven months before, I say if these and such like strange actions and doings before mentioned, (all which they have either owned or have been proved to be done by them,) be warrantable, legal, just and right in the sight of God, or according to the laws of the nation, then I do hereby own and humbly acknowledge that I have done the said Major John Walley and Captain Nathaniel Byefield much wrong and injury in rendering their said actions in my said narrative to be illegal, unjust, and injurious to the town of Bristol in general, and to myself in particular, for which I am sorry.

‘I confess I might have spared some poetical notions and satirical expressions which I have used by way of argument, inference, or comparison, yet the sharpest of them are abundantly short of those villifying terms and scurrilous language which they themselves have frequently given each other both in publique and private, generally known in Bristol.

‘But above all I am heartily sorry that it is my unhappiness to differ so much in my apprehensions from the honorable gentlemen, the arbitrators, for whom I have always conceived and retained an honorable esteem and veneration, that I would even put my life into their hands, the truth whereof may appear by this late submission of mine, otherwise I should not have exposed myself as I have done.

‘JOHN SAFFIN.’

‘This was delivered to Major Walley and Captain Nathaniel Byefield, on Friday, 24th July, 1696.’

It is proper to state that the charges which were made by Judge Saffin against Major Walley and Colonel Bye-

field, in the view of the arbitrators were not supported ; they probably had some foundation in fact, but were much exaggerated through the spleen of the accuser.

That the temper of Saffin, if not always irascible and peevish, had become so, is very evident from the letter of reproof which was written to him by Cotton Mather on account of his differences with, and separation from, his wife. This letter was dated May 19, 1710, only ten days before the death of Saffin. The object of the letter was to entreat him to live with his wife, to which he had been invited by her.

LITTLE COMPTON.

The Indian name of Little Compton was Saconet.* It was inhabited by the Saconet tribe of Indians, who chiefly resided on the point or long neck of land to which the name seemed to be more exclusively applied : they were governed at the time the first English settlements were made, by the female or squaw Sachem, Awashunks, a kinswoman of Philip. The temper of Awashunks was yielding, and there was some prospect that her tribe might be induced to embrace Christianity. This disposition was destroyed by the subsequent hostilities.

Saconet like Mount Hope was a permanent residence of the Indians. In selecting a metropolis or chief seat, the Indians discovered good taste as well as sagacity. They loved to look out on the waters, and to gather their riches. In the economy of Indian living, fish were almost indispensable, and hence it was that all their voluntary residences were only in the places where they abounded. After they had learned the use of firearms, wild-fowl

* Colonel Church writes the name Sogkonate, which probably was conformable to the Indian pronunciation.

became another principal article of food. Saconet Point surrounded on all sides with waters, abounding in fish, and flanked with tremendous rocks, which were accessible to the hunter, presented every facility for fishing and fowling which could have been desired by the keenest sportsman, and which to the Indian promised an almost certain supply of daily food.

The quiet life of Awashunks and her subjects was destined to be disturbed by the common pest of the Indians and the Dutch, a lawsuit in an English court, as appears by the following deed :

‘ Know all men by these presents, that we, Awashunks, squaw-sachem of Saconet, Waweyewet, husband of the said squaw, of the colony of New Plymouth, have, and by these presents do give, grant, bargain, aliene, enfeoff, and confirm, all our lands which we or either of us have at Saconet or elsewhere within the colony of New Plymouth aforesaid, unto Mr Constant Southworth of the colony aforesaid, to have and to hold unto him the said Constant Southworth, his heirs and assigns forever, to the only proper use and behoof of him the said Constant Southworth, his heirs and assigns forever, upon consideration following, viz. whereas Mamanua hath commenced suit against the said Awashunks and Awaweyewet in an action upon the case to the damage of five hundred pounds for forcibly detaining the land of the said Mamanua, as in the attachment bearing date May 18, 1674, doth more fully appear ; if we the said Awashunks and Waweyewet do appear either in person or by our attorney at his majesty’s Court to be holden at New Plymouth on the first Tuesday in July next, to defend the said suit, and also to satisfy judgment of the Court concerning the said case, that then this deed and confirmation to be utterly voyde and of none effect ; otherwise, to stand good and

firm according to the tenor thereof forevermore. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this twentieth day of May, 1674.

‘ Mark of X AWASHUNKS, (seal.)

‘ Mark of C WAWEYEWET. (seal.)

‘ Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of

‘ WILLIAM FOABS,

‘ NATHANIEL THOMAS.’

At his majesty’s Court of New Plymouth, held the first Tuesday of July, Anno 1674, Awashunks owned before the Court that she stood bound by this bond likewise in reference to the title of the land abovementioned, to bear the charges thereof if she be cast in the case.

Test. NATHANIEL MORTON, *Secretary*.

‘ *Memorandum.* Whereas the within Awashunks and Waweyewet, nor neither of them have performed the within expressed condition, for which default the within expressed conditioned estate is become absolute on the 28th day of January, 1674, the within named Mr Constant Southworth did actually enter into the land of the said Awashunks at the within named Saconet, and quiet and peaceable possession did thereof take in the name of all the land contained in the within written deed or instrument in the presence of us whose names are subscribed.

The mark of Ω JOHN MONROW,

The mark of ✎ JAMES BETTE,

The mark of † ICHABOD POTTER,
THOMAS BAYAETANT,

The mark of m STEPHEN, an Indian, alias NORONOO.

Whether Southworth on this occasion acted as the friend or the foe of Awashunks, does not appear; whether he meant to protect her from Mamanua or to secure the lands for himself is uncertain. It was certainly a novel proceeding for an Indian to commence a suit for lands against a sachem, embracing the whole domain of the tribe, in an English court.

The son-in-law of Southworth, Benjamin Church, afterwards the celebrated warrior, settled on these lands in 1674, and was the first settler there. A strong friendship existed between Church and Awashunks. She had great confidence in Church, and seemed on all occasions to seek his advice, and he was eventually able to detach her from her alliance with Philip, although she was his kinswoman, and to ally her to the English. Before the commencement of hostilities it is believed that there were other settlers at Saconet, amongst whom was Captain Edward Richmond from Rhode Island.

March 24, 1692, William Bradford confirmed to the proprietors of Little Compton the lands within that township. In the preamble to this confirmatory deed or grant it is said that the proprietors for more than seventeen years had had seizin and possession. The first occupation of these lands has already been stated to have been in 1674. This deed was made to

Joseph Church,	Thomas Woodworth and
Benjamin Church,	Joseph Woodworth,
William Southworth,	William Paybodie,
William Fobes,	Thomas Grey,
John Rouse,	John Rogers,
Thomas Ward,	John Irish,
Nathaniel Warren,	Simon Rouse,
John Shearman,	Peter Collamore,
Benjamin Woodworth,	Josiah Cooke,
Isaac Woodworth,	John Washburn.
Edward Richmond,	

Joseph Church, Benjamin Church, William Southworth, William Fobes, William Paybodie, and John Irish, were from Duxbury; John Rogers, John Washburn, and some others, are believed to have been from there; Nathaniel Warren and Josiah Cooke were from Plymouth, and probably Peter Collamore; Edward Richmond was from Taunton, last from Rhode Island.

‘These lands were bounded on the north side by the southerly bounds of the Punkatest and Pocasset proprietories; east by the town of Dartmouth; on the south by the sea, and on the west by the sound or bay that runneth between Rhode Island and said land until it meet with the abovesaid bounds of Pocasset land at the mouth of Punkatest Pond, excepting and always reserving, (says Major Bradford,) that neck of land called by the Indians Nitinuwick, lying and being on the easterly side of Quicksand Pond, and on the west side of one other little pond called by the Indian name Monoquechat, the next pond eastward of the said Quicksand Pond, and all that said neck of land from the sea northward and between the two ponds, and then the brook or run of water that falls into the said little pond to be the bounds on the east side, till it extend northerly so far as a great rock upon a little hill distant northerly from the said little pond by estimation sixty or seventy rods more or less, and then from said neck westerly to the said Quicksand Pond;’ this land the grantor reserves to himself; and he also excepts from the general grant, ‘that tract of land that Daniel Wilcox claims between the land called Alderman’s, and the western arm of Coxit river and the lands purchased by the proprietors abovesaid, extending northerly, to the quantity of two hundred acres, which Mr Thomas Hinckley lays claim unto.’

The Saconet plantation was incorporated into a town by the name of Little Compton in 1682, ten years before the termination of the colonial government.

The authority of New York was momentarily acknowledged here, and the proclamation of Governor Slaughter obeyed.

No pastor was settled during the period of this history. Mr Richard Billings was settled shortly afterwards, and was the first.

The Saconet tribe continued for many years to reside within the limits of the town in perfect harmony with their English neighbors.

FREETOWN.

On the third day of July, 1656, the General Court of Plymouth granted unto sundry of the ancient freemen of that jurisdiction, viz. to Captain James Cudworth, Josiah Winslow, senior, Constant Southworth and John Barnes, in behalf of themselves and other freemen of that standing in the towns of Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate and Marshfield, whose names were recorded, 'certain tracts of land viz. all the uplands and meadows lying and being on the east side of Taunton river, from Assonate Neck to Quaquerchand, alias the Plain, commonly called by the name of the Falls, and so extending into the woods four miles, and bounded northerly on the bound line of the town of Taunton, and southerly by the line of said Falls, which is the bounds between it and the lands of Pocasset, and bounded easterly by a straight head line, which rangeth from the said bounds of Taunton at the Four Miles End aforesaid, unto the head of said lines at the Falls, and also all those meadow lands which lie between Seipican bounds and the purchaser's grant or easternmost bounds of Cushena alias Dartmouth, excepting all former grant or grants within the abovesaid premises.'

On the second day of April, 1659, the following deed was signed. 'Know all men by these presents, that we, Ossamequin, Wamsitta, Tattapanum, natives inhabiting and living within the government of New Plymouth, in New England in America, have bargained, sold, enfeoffed and confirmed unto Capt. James Cudworth, Josiah Winslow, Constant Southworth, John Barnes, John Tesdale, Humphrey Turner, Walter Hatch, Samuel House, Samuel Jackson, John Da-

man, Mr Timothy Hatherly, Timothy Foster, Thomas Southworth, George Watson, Nathaniel Morton, Richard Moore, Edmund Chandler, Samuel Nash, Henry Howland, Mr Ralph Patridge, Love Brewster, William Paybodie, Christopher Wadsworth, Kenelme Winslow, Thomas Bourne, John Waterman, the son of Robert Waterman, and do by these presents bargain, sell, enfeoff, and confirm from us and our heirs unto James Cudworth, Josiah Winslow, senior, Constant Southworth, John Tesdale, &c, and they and their heirs, all the tract of upland and meadow lying on the easterly side of Taunton river, beginning or bounded toward the south with the river called the Falls or Quequechand, and so extending itself northerly until it comes to a little brook called by the English by the name of Stacey's Creek, which brook issues out of the woods into the marsh or bay of Assonet, close by the narrowing of Assonate Neck, and from a marked tree near the said brook at the head of the marsh, to extend itself into the woods on a northeasterly point four miles, and from the head of said four miles on a straight line southerly until it meet with the head of the four mile line at Quequechand, or the Falls aforesaid, including all meadows, necks, or islands lying and being between Assonate Neck and the Falls aforesaid, (except the land that Tabatacason hath in present use,) and all the meadow upon Assonate Neck, on the south side of the said neck. And all the meadow on the westerly side of Taunton river from Taunton bounds round until it come to the head of Weypoyset river, in all creeks, coves, rivers, and inland meadow not lying above four miles from the flowing of the tide in, and for the consideration of twenty coats, two rugs, two iron pots, two kettles and one little kettle, eight pair of shoes, six pair of stockings, one dozen of hoes, one dozen of hatchets, two yards of broadcloth, and a debt satisfied to

John Barnes, which was due from Wamsitta unto John Barnes before the 24th of December, 1657, all being unto us in hand paid, wherewith we, the said Ossamequin, Wamsitta, Tattapanum, are fully satisfied, contented and paid, and do by these presents exonerate, acquit, and discharge, [here all the grantees are again named,] they and either of them and each of the heirs and executors of them forever. Warranting the hereof from all persons from, by or under us, as laying any claim unto the premises from, by or under us, claiming any right or title thereunto, or unto any part or parcel thereof, the said [grantees] to have and to hold to them and their heirs forever, all the abovesaid upland and meadow as is before expressed, with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging, from us, Ossamequin, Wamsitta, and Tattapanum, and every of us, our heirs, and every of them forever, unto them, they, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns forever, according to the tenure of East Greenwich, in free soccage, and not *in capite* nor by knight's service.

‘ Also the said Ossamequin, Wamsitta, and Tattapanum, do covenant and grant that it may be lawful for the said [grantees] to enter the said deed in the Court of Plymouth, or in any other court of record provided for in such case, in and for the true performance whereof Ossamequin, Wamsitta, and Tattapanum have hereunto set our hands and seals this 2nd day of April, 1659.

‘ WAMSITTA, his M mark, (s)
 ‘ TATTAPANUM, her X mark. (s)

‘ Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us,

‘ THOMAS COOKE,
 ‘ JONATHAN BRIGD,
 ‘ JOHN SASSAMON.

‘ Ossamequin never signed the deed.

‘ It was acknowledged June 9, 1659, by Wamsitta and the squaw Tattapanum, before Jos. Winslow and Will. Bradford, assistants.’

The settlers of Assonet, which was incorporated as a town, and called Freetown in 1683, were principally from Scituate, Marshfield, and Plymouth,

The early names are Cudworth, Winslow, Morton, Hathaway, Reed, Terry.

Some came from Rhode Island, and some went in from Taunton.

No church had been gathered and no minister ordained at the termination of the colonial government.

FALMOUTH.

Succonisses, Succonisset or Sokones, was incorporated as a town by the name of Falmouth in 1686. The settlers came principally from the other towns on Cape Cod, particularly Sandwich, and some from Plymouth, Marshfield, and Duxbury. No interesting incidents are attached to the settlement; it had scarcely commenced when Plymouth was annexed to Massachusetts, and as no minister had been settled, its history for the first five years is almost a blank.

ROCHESTER.

It has already been noticed that a grant was made by the Court as early as 1638 to certain people in Scituate of the lands at Seipican, which fall within the limits of Rochester. The grantees never availed themselves of the grant, and afterwards settled the town of Barnstable.

In 1651, the same tract was granted to the town of Plymouth, 'for the continual support of the township of Plymouth, for the place and seat of government, to prevent the dispersing of the inhabitants thereof, it was ordered that Seipican be granted to the town of Plymouth, to be a general help to the inhabitants thereof, for the keeping of their cattle, and to remain for the common

use and good of the said township, and never to be alienated to any other use, and none to enjoy any right or benefit therein, but the inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, &c; only except such as are the common herdsmen of the said town; and the bound thereof to extend itself eight miles by the sea-side, and four miles unto the land, provided it be bounded (by Middleborough) next.'

This grant was made for the purpose of preventing the abandonment of the town of Plymouth, which was seriously contemplated at that time.

The Aboriginal title was extinguished by the town of Plymouth in 1655, and in 1661 it was laid out and bounded by a joint committee of the Court and of the town of Plymouth.

In 1672, it was enlarged. Mettapoiset is described by the natives 'as extending from Dartmouth by the sea-side, to a place called Wesappicoasset, thence to the woods six or seven miles, and to certain described rocks on the path from Sandwich to Dartmouth, and so to Dartmouth line west, which place is called Mettapoiset.'

In 1676, the Indians who had surrendered to Captain Church on his promise of mercy, were directed to keep within certain bounds under the inspection of Indian overseers, between Seipican river on the east and Dartmouth on the west.

In 1679, Joseph Lothrop and Barnabas Lothrop of Barnstable, Kenelm Winslow of Marshfield and William Clarke of Plymouth, as the agents of thirty partners in consideration of £200 purchased the remainder of the lands not already granted 'between Dartmouth on the west, Plymouth Purchase on the east, and Middleborough and Plymouth on the north,' 'to be settled in four years with an orthodox ministry, &c.'

These several grants include the present town of Roches-

ter, with the exception of a small tract on the east, set off to Wareham when it was constituted a town.

The settlement commenced about the year 1680, not far from Seipican Harbor. The Rev. Samuel Arnold may be considered the principal settler.

In 1684 the list of freemen contained the names of the Rev. Samuel Arnold, Samuel White, and Samuel Hammond from Marshfield ; Peter Blackman, John Hammond, and Moses Barlow from Sandwich. In 1689 and 1690, John Wing, Aaron Barlow, and Joseph Burgess from Sandwich ; Joseph Dotey, Jacob Bumpus, — Sprague, Abraham Holmes and Job Winslow from Marshfield ; John Haskell from Salem, and Church and Briggs from Scituate. A church was gathered soon, and in 1684 Mr. Arnold, who was a son of the third minister of Marshfield, and born there in 1649, and one of the thirty partners, was ordained pastor, and so remained until long after the termination of the colonial government. In 1686, these several tracts were incorporated into a town, which received the name of Rochester, and the town was annexed to the county of Barnstable.

PLYMOUTH.

During the period indicated in the title of this chapter, but few events of local consequence occurred in the town of Plymouth.

Clarke's Island in the harbor was leased in 1678 to Edward Gray for seven years. Townsmen were still to have liberty to bring wood from the island for building, fencing, and firing. This shows that the people of the town at that time had no doubt of their title, which subsequently was called in question.

The Agawam lands were also leased for seven years, (afterwards sold, and the proceeds applied to the erection of a new meeting-house in 1638.)

In 1684, 'the king's highways' were laid out through the town.

During this period Mr Cotton continued the minister, and Thomas Cushman the ruling elder.

In 1683, the whole number of freemen was but fiftyfive.

In May, 1689, the town voted 'that a declaration be presented to the General Court of the colony, that the country might help to bear their proportion of charge to relieve those persons that have been grievous sufferers for defending the common right.'

In June it was voted 'to sell certain common lands to defray expenses in defending Clarke's Island,' and to sell Clarke's Island, Sagaquash, the Gurnet and Colchester swamp.

Clarke's Island was sold to Samuel Lucas, Elkanah Watson, and George Morton, in 1691.

Mr Cotton remained in the ministry at Plymouth until some time subsequent to the annexation of the colony to Massachusetts. During the whole period of his ministry he was indefatigable in his exertions to convert the heathen, and no less so in gaining members to his own church.

In 1688, the practice of open relations of the experiences of the heart was altered, 'it being observed that divers men, who offered themselves to church fellowship, were bashful, and of low voice, and so not able to speak in public, to the edification of the congregation, nor to the hearing of the whole church; it was generally agreed that those who could speak audibly, &c. should do so in the whole congregation as formerly; but if the elders judged any man not capable thereof, they should call the church together in private, to hear such make their relations; but voting their admission, and covenanting with them, should be deferred to the public assembly.'

A few months after the first renewal of covenant in 1676, it was ascertained that some of the brethren of the church 'walked disorderly, sitting too long together in public houses, and with vain company, and drinking.' The church unanimously consented, 'in case they saw or heard of any such carriage in any of the church for the future, to demand a reason of the party why he so did, and that we would satisfy the demands of each other in such case; and if any did not give satisfying answers to such sober, christian demands, it should be accounted just matter of offence. The elders also then propounded, that due care might be taken of the children of the church, that they might not transgress in this kind. The elders and brethren also bore strong testimony against such irregularities in the year 1684.'

Mr Cotton requested all such members of his church as were heads of families to attend once in two months, and receive from him sundry questions which they were to answer from the scriptures; having read them he gave his own, and preached on the subject.

Robert Finney, one of the deacons, died January 7, 1688, at the age of eighty.

His colleague, George Morton, outlived the colony, and died October 7, 1693.

Thomas Cushman, who succeeded Mr Brewster as ruling elder, died December 11, 1691, aged eightyfour. 'He had, (says the church record,) been a rich blessing to this church scores of years; was grave, sober, holy, and temperate, very studious and solicitous for the peace and prosperity of the church, and to prevent and heal all breaches. Much of God's presence went away from this church, when this blessed pillar was removed. December 16 was kept as a day of humiliation upon the account of his death; and then a liberal contribution was made

for his widow, as an acknowledgment of his great services to the church whilst living.*

DUXBURY.

Mr Wiswall the minister, was employed in the latter part of the colonial government as the agent of the colony to obtain a charter; he had acquired much popularity from the persecution which he underwent, and the cruelties which were exercised upon him by Sir Edmund Andros. His efforts at the court of King William will be related hereafter. He was a person of great firmness, and considerable address and ability, a shrewd observer of human nature, and in the language of a contemporary, 'a man of eminent accomplishments for the service of the sanctuary.' He returned from his mission, and resumed his ministerial labors at Duxbury,† and remained there till his death.

SCITUATE.

In 1689, the freemen of Scituate were ninetyone. Edward Wanton, an early settler, removed to Rhode

* Some differences unhappily arose between Mr Cotton and his church, which led to a mutual council. Mr Cotton resigned, and at his own request received his dismissal, October 5th, 1697, to the great grief of many in church and town; he preached occasionally at Yarmouth, and having reconciled himself to his church, and received a recommendation from several ministers of the colony, he sailed for Charleston, South Carolina, where about the end of 1698, he gathered a church, and was eminently successful in his ministry, but died in September of the next year, at the age of sixty. At Charleston he was held in great esteem, and died universally regretted. He was the third pastor of the Congregational church at Charleston, which was first established in 1690.

In the church record he is described 'as a man of strong parts, and good abilities to preach the word of God, from whom we have received very profitable truths.'

† Mr Wiswall died July 20th, 1700. He was greatly respected, and his loss was not only regretted by his society, but by the community.

Island ; he was the ancestor of a very distinguished family in that colony.

Mr Baker the minister died August 22, 1678.*

Jeremiah Cushing was ordained over the first church in Scituate, May 27, 1691 ; he was born at Hingham in 1654, and graduated at the college in 1676.†

Mr Wethrell, the pastor of the second church, died in March, 1684. In the same month the Rev. Thomas Mighill, was ordained as his successor ; he died in February, 1689.‡

TAUNTON.

November 8, 1677. The town voted that deputies and grand-jurors should have 2s. 6d. per day.

March 23, 1680. Assonate Neck, conquered from the Indians, was divided amongst the six proprietors who purchased it from the government, viz. the Rev. George Shove, James Walker, James Tisdell, Walter Dean, William Harvey, Richard Williams. This tract was annexed to Taunton.

Some of the ancient records of Taunton have been preserved in consequence of the foresight of the ancient inhabitants, who at a town-meeting holden May 25, 1680, appointed Walter Dean, James Walker, Thomas Leonard, John Richmond, and William Withrell to revise the town orders, records of land, &c. The committee issued the following epistle to the inhabitants of the town.

‘ To our beloved brethren and neighbors the inhabitants of the town of Taunton in the government of New Plymouth. The committee chosen by the said town for to

* Mr Baker was sixtyeight at the time of his death. He left three sons, Samuel, Nathaniel, and Nicholas.

† History of Hingham by Hon: Solomon Lincoln, junior

‡ Mr Mighill was succeeded by Deodat Lawson ; who was dismissed in 1698.

ratify town orders and grants, and to bring them into a formal body, that they may stand in force, and also to determine how lands shall be recorded, that they may be confirmed both to ourselves and to our posterity.

‘The committee wisheth grace, mercy, and peace, in our Lord Jesus Christ.’

‘Amongst the many mercies that we enjoy here in this wilderness, this ought to be accounted none of the least ; that we enjoy such rulers chosen from amongst ourselves, (in the commonwealth,) and live under such government, by means whereof we, as well as the rest of the towns of this government, enjoy liberty and power to make such town orders, from time to time, as we shall find needful for the ordering and managing our prudential affairs, and the maintaining the worship of God amongst us ; provided that no town order do infringe or be repugnant to any order of our government, and considering that God is a God of order and not of confusion ; and that he hath in some measure put us into a capacity to observe and be guided by good and wholesome orders, it hath been looked upon as great pity and neglect that our town orders have not before now, been brought into a formal body, distinct from the records of our lands, which our town having well considered, and chosen us to do such a needful work, although we are sensible of our weaknesses, and of the many difficulties in the work, yet considering the great necessity that something of this nature ought to be done, and that the records of our lands may not lie in a confused manner, we have through much difficulty, revised, collected, and formed, this following body of town orders reduced into chapters, as may be seen in this book. Let the reader take notice that first in this epistle he hath our orders from the town inserted, and next after that some instructions, for those that have lands to be recorded, and

then the preface, that is before the list of purchasers or proprietors, and then the said list, and nextly there followeth the several chapters of town orders. It hath been our endeavor to compose and form the several orders in this book, as they may most conduce to general utility and profit, yet several of these orders, intended for the present convenience, may probably be hereafter altered, and as need requireth, other orders added suitable to such alternate changes, as is usual in affairs respecting town and commonwealth affairs, probable it may be that weakness appear in what we here present to your view, for want of such able instruments as others are furnished withal, however our desires are, that you will be pleased to accept of what we according to the utmost of our powers have done, endeavoring to promote the general good of this place, and that you would seriously consider that if such a work as this is of so great importance to us, at such a time as this is, should be retarded and hindered, what would be the event thereof.—Therefore, hoping there will be comfortable concurrence and closure with us in this work, considering we aim at the peace and tranquillity both of the present, and rising generations we rest your friends and neighbors. (Signed by the committee.)

The minister of Taunton, the Rev. George Shove, died April 21st, 1687.*

* Mr Shove had three wives ; the first was Hopestill Newman, a daughter of the minister of Rehoboth, she died March 7th, 1674.

His second wife was Mrs Hannah Walley, who died in September, 1685.

His third wife was Mrs Sarah Farwell, to whom he was married December 8th, 1686.

His first wife had three sons and two daughters.

The Rev. Seth Shove was born at Taunton, December 18th, 1667, educated at Cambridge, and graduated in 1687, ordained at Danbury in Connecticut, October 13th, 1697, and died there in the ministry October 3d, 1735.

His second son, Nathaniel, was born January 29th, 1668, died unmarried April 1693. His third son, Samuel, was born January 10th, 1670. By his

The Rev. Samuel Danforth was the successor of Mr Shove. He was born at Roxbury in 1666, and was the son of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, the colleague of the venerable Eliot, the pastor of Roxbury. He was graduated at Cambridge in 1683, ordained at Taunton in 1687, and died there while in the work of the ministry, in 1727.*

All his contemporaries represent Mr Danforth as a person of great learning, and he certainly maintained a high reputation through life. In 1714, he preached the election sermon. He did not confine himself to theology, but attained a competent knowledge of the medical art, and was no contemptible lawyer.

His various qualifications rendered him extremely useful,

second wife he was the father of one son, Edward, born October, 1680, and three daughters.

* The father of Mr Danforth of Taunton, the Roxbury minister, was distinguished for his mathematical and astronomical science. He was graduated at Cambridge in 1643, being a member of the second class which that college sent forth.

His mother was the daughter of the celebrated John Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, who died in 1667, who was the son of Dr William Wilson, prebend of Rochester, (England,) and grand-nephew of Dr Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr Danforth of Roxbury, came to America in 1634, with his father Nathaniel Danforth. He was ordained at Roxbury in 1650, and died there in 1674. He left twelve children.

One of his sons, John Danforth, was the minister of Dorchester, much distinguished for learning and science; he died there in 1730.

His son the Hon. Samuel Danforth, was president of the council several years, and in 1774, a mandamus counsellor; he died in 1777, aged eightyone; he was distinguished for his love of natural philosophy and chemistry.

He left two sons, Thomas a counsellor of law, and a loyalist, who died in London unmarried, and Samuel, the late celebrated physician of Boston.

Mr Danforth of Taunton married the daughter of the Rev. James Allen, who was silenced in England by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He was teacher of the first church in Boston, ordained in 1668, while Davenport was pastor.

and while he instructed his people in all things touching their spiritual welfare, they found his advice and aid no less useful in their temporal concerns. He acquired over them an unbounded influence, which he exercised for the general good, and although some of them might dislike advice which too often came in the shape of a command, yet as nothing was meant but their good, they acquiesced, and were grateful.

The town was extremely anxious to obtain Mr Danforth.

February 27th, 1688. Ten acres of land were voted to Captain Bartholomew Tipping, 'for his labor and charge to fetch up to our town Mr Danforth.' Captain Tipping sold Mr Danforth his house and lot, and the following persons agreed to give him certain parcels of land 'in part pay therefor,' namely :

	Acres.		Acres.
James Walker,	10	John Smith, junior,	5
Peter Walker,	10	Samuel Holloway,	2
John Hall,	5	John Dean,	5
Thomas Lincoln, senior,	5	John Macomber, junior,	5
John Richmond,	5	William Paull,	5
William Withrell,	5	Robert Crossman, junior,	3
James Tisdil,	5	Joseph Leonard,	4
Edward Bobit,	5	Mary Street,	6
Elkanah Bobit,	2	Joseph Willis,	5
Peter Pitts, senior,	5	John Hathaway, senior,	10
Jonathan Briggs,	4	John Briant,	10
Samuel Hall,	4		

The proprietors granted to Shadrach Wilbore the town-clerk, one hundred acres of land at Cotley, 'to help make up his loss and trouble which he suffered in the time of Sir Edmund Andros his government.'

Shadrach Wilbore was very useful in all town affairs. He was town-clerk more than thirtyfive years, and was imprisoned by order of Sir Edmund Andros, for refusing

to give up the town records. His chirography is extremely beautiful.*

* In August, 1689, the following names appear in the confirmatory grant of William Bradford, either as proprietors of Taunton or Cohannet, its North Purchase, its South Purchase, and Assonet Neck.

Mr John Poole,	Richard Stephens,
Mr Samuel Danforth,	Mary Street,
Richard Williams,	Joseph Willis,
Walter Deane,	Eleazer Gilbert,
George Macy,	Thomas Gilbert,
Hezekiah Hoar,	Malachi Holloway,
William Harvey,	John Smith, junior,
Henry Andrews,	Samuel Smith,
John Deane,	James Burt,
Giles Gilbert,	James Tisdell,
James Walker, senior,	John Tisdell,
Shadrach Wilbore,	Joseph Tisdell,
Philip King,	James Walker, junior,
Joseph Wilbore,	Peter Walker,
John Cobb,	Thomas Harvey, junior,
John Hall,	John Crossman,
Peter Pitts,	Samuel Thrasher,
Samuel Williams,	John Hathaway,
Nathaniel Williams,	Isaac Deane,
Joseph Williams,	Joseph Leonard,
Samuel Hall,	John Woodward,
Joseph Hall,	John Macomber, junior,
Isaac Negus,	Joseph Staple,
Increase Robinson,	Samuel Deane,
Thomas Farwell,	Samuel Stacie,
Thomas Caswell, senior,	John Hodges,
James Leonard, junior,	The sons of Aaron Knapp, deceased,
John Smith, senior,	Henry Hodges,
James Phillips,	Richard Godfree, senior,
John Richmond,	Thomas Lincoln, senior,
William Paull,	John Lincoln,
Jonah Austin,	Samuel Lincoln,
William Wethrell, senior,	Robert Crossman, senior,
William Wethrell, junior,	Robert Thorntun,
John Wethrell,	James Leonard, senior,
Robert Crossman, junior,	John Turner,
John Briant,	Thomas Leonard,

There is reason to believe that the celebrated philanthropist Thomas Coram, the founder of the Foundling Hospital in the city of London, was settled at Taunton previous to 1692 ; it is certain he was there but a short time afterwards. He owned a farm on the river a little below the Weir bridge, now within the limits of Berkley, where he constructed vessels probably for the Newfoundland fishery. He left Taunton in 1703. The disposition which he made of his farm, exhibits a striking and characteristic trait of his benevolence and of his prejudices ; he conveyed it to the vestrymen of the church of England in Boston, namely, his excellency Joseph Dudley, his honor Thomas Povey, Sir Charles Hobby, Francis Foxcraft, Esq., William Taylor, Esq., John Nelson, Esq., Edward Lloyd, Esq., Mr Nicholas Roberts, Captain Cyprian Southack, Thomas Newton, Esq., and several others, their successors, &c, in trust, ' that if ever hereafter the inhabitants of the town of Taunton should be more civilized than they now are, and if they should incline to have a church of England built amongst them, or in that town, then upon the application of the inhabitants of said town, that is to say,

Edward Bobit,
Elkanah Bobit,
Samuel Holloway,
Jonathan Briggs,
Nicholas White, senior,
George Gooding,
John Eddy,
William Brenton, Esq.,
John Macomber, senior,
Thomas Deane,
Israel Deane,
Thomas Lincoln, junior,
Francis Smith,
William Paull,
Esther Golup,

Nathaniel Thayer,
Ezra Deane,
Israel Thrasher,
Samuel Macy,
Nicholas White, junior,
Jared Talbot,
Thomas Williams,
Richard Briggs,
Thomas Amsbury,
Joseph Willis,
Henry Andrews,
Samuel Pitts,
Jonah Austin, junior,
Samuel Paull,
Mistress Jane Gilbert,

forty rateable men of them, upon their application or petition to the said vestry, or their successors, for any suitable part of said land to build a church of England, or a school-house for the use and service of said church ;' the vestry were authorized to convey the whole or a part, 'as they should see good for their purpose.'

This misanthropical philanthropist before his death, had the gratification to know that the people of Taunton 'had become so far civilized' as to build a 'church of England,' and many valuable books (now alas scattered in every direction) bearing in red letters the name of T. Coram, attest his generosity to this church in the wilderness. Could the spirit of this benevolent individual now be permitted to know what has been done in those places with which its youth was familiar, it might discover a fine specimen of architectural beauty in the shape of an Episcopal church erected by the 'uncivilized Tauntonians.'

BARNSTABLE.

Jonathan Russell was ordained as the pastor of Barnstable, September 19th, 1683, and died in the ministry there February 2d, 1710, 1711.

Mr Russell was graduated at Cambridge, 1675. Dr Chauncy calls him an eminent and worthy man.*

YARMOUTH.

But few events of interest occurred in this town from the termination of the Indian war to the extinction of the colonial government.

* He married a daughter of the Rev. Joshua Moody of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. His son Jonathan Russell, succeeded him as the minister of Barnstable in 1712, and died in the ministry there, September 10th, 1759, at the age of seventy.

MARSHFIELD.

During the period embraced in this part of the history, Marshfield, like Yarmouth, furnishes no events of interest.

REHOBOTH.

The desolation which Rehoboth underwent during the Indian war, and the gallant attack of the people under the conduct of Mr Newman, on sachem Philip, have been mentioned in the history of that war. Most of the houses in the town were burnt and much property destroyed.*

* The names of the Rehoboth soldiers who served in this war have been preserved, namely :

Those engaged in the Narragansett expedition were,

John Fitch
Jonathan Wilmarth,
Jasiel Perry,
Thomas Kendrick,
Jonathan Sabin,
John Carpenter,
John Redoway,
John Martin,
John Hall,
John Miller, junior,
John Ide,
Joseph Doggett,
Sampson Mason, junior,

Those who served under Major Bradford were,

Preserved Abell,
Samuel Perry,
Stephen Paine, junior,
Samuel Miller,
Silas T. Alin,
Samuel Palmer,
James Redoway,
Enoch Hunt,
Samuel Walker,
Nicholas Ide,
Noah Mason,
Samuel Sabin,
Thomas Read,
Israel Read,
George Robinson,
Nathaniel Wilmarth,

The following catalogue of those of Rehoboth who made advances of money at one period of this war, (to some) will not be void of interest. The towns were at one time literally obliged to carry on the war. Many who served as private soldiers advanced money to sustain it.

George Kendrick, . . .	£11	13	1	Josiah Palmer,	1	10	10
Jonathan Fuller,	1	18	8	John Butterworth, junior, . .	3	11	5
Jo. Miller, senior,	6	5	4	Thomas Read,	8	14	4

November 15, 1677. 'It was voted and agreed that Lieutenant Hunt and Ensign Nicholas Peck should assist the deacons to go from house to house to make inquiry what persons have or will do for this present year for the

Joseph Buckland, (Bucklin)	6	3	0	Stephen Paine, junior,	£10	11	5
Wid. Abraham Perem, . . .	14	2	0	Joseph Sabin,	1	17	0
Rice Leonard,	2	0	6	Gilbert Brooks,	3	14	10
James Gillson,	4	18	2	David Smith,	4	17	5
An. Perey,	14	00	2	James Redoway, senior, .	5	14	4
George Robinson,	4	12	0	Preserved Abell,	7	15	1
John Perem,	1	13	10	William Buckland, . . .	2	9	0
William Carpenter,	8	17	3	Benjamin Buckland, with			
John Titus, senior,	5	6	3	the loss of a gun, . . .	4	3	10
Samuel Carpenter,	11	19	5	Samuel Peck,	9	2	8
Widow Sabin,	1	7	6	John Fitch, with the loss			
John Ormsby,	2	15	0	of a gun,	13	6	4
Thomas Willmarth, senior,	6	12	3	Robert Fuller,	4	10	3
Francis Stevens,	1	10	6	Richard Bowen,	4	4	8
Joseph Peck,	2	10	0	Rebecca Hunt,	1	7	10
David Berris,	17	8		John Hall,	1	6	
John Savage,	2	6	8	Samuel Sabin,	4	14	2
Richard Martin,	1	5	4	Eldad Kingsley,	9	4	
Thomas Grant,	9	0		Wid. Carpenter,	6	0	6
Deacon Nathaniel Cooper, .	8	0	0	Daniel Allen,	14	0	
Robert Miller,	5	17	6	Samuel Homes,	9	0	
Wid. Mason,	13	5	10	Noah Mason,	15	0	
Wid. Rachel Read, with a				John Jonson,	16	6	
gun lost,	4	3	0	Jeremiah Wheaton, . . .	3	0	
John Kingsley,	2	4	0	Obadiah Bowen,	2	17	8
Moses Reade,	4	1	10	Nathaniel Foulson, . . .	5	6	
John Reade, senior,	13	18	11	Eben. Amidown,	1	6	
William Sabin,	15	5	8	John Crossman,	2	6	
Nathaniel Paine,	100	0	0	Benjamin Sabin,	1	0	6
Samuel Reade,	17	10		James Red, junior, . . .	5	0	
Thomas Willmarth, junior,	7	4		William Blanding,	7	0	
John Willmarth,	1	2	4	Daniel Smith,	37	11	7
Joseph Chaffee,	1	8	8	John Peck,	4	12	6
Samuel Bullock,	12	3		Deacon Walker,	26	00	0
John Carpenter,	1	18	6	John Allen, junior, . . .	16	9	
John Titus, junior,	2	7	7	John Doggett,	11	1	3½
Nathaniel Chaffee,	3	16	6	Samuel Newman,	4	17	10

maintenance of our reverend pastor, to see whether it will amount to sixty pounds, and also to take care that it may be effectually paid in season.'

From this vote it would appear that the disaffection still existed, and that there was much difficulty in obtaining the necessary support for the pastor.

Mr Newman was at this time in extreme ill-health.

It was also voted that 'the young gentleman at Dorchester,' should be invited to teach the school.

It was also voted that an invitation be given to Mr Man 'to be helpful in the work of the ministry for this winter.' If he could not be obtained, that some other suitable person should be invited.

April 12, 1678. 'The town manifested their earnest desire that Mr Angier might be treated with by the townsmen and encouraged to tarry with us until we see how the Lord will deal with our reverend pastor. The town desiring that it might be that some farther hold may be taken of him with speed, that we might not be left destitute, if it were the will of God. The town manifesting their expectation of him and his labors in the work of the ministry.'

A few days afterwards the Rev. Noah Newman died.

April 29, 1678. It was voted 'that Mrs Newman the relict of our late reverend pastor, shall have £15 for the present year, and a sufficiency of wood brought to her gate if she please still to abide with us, and this to be paid according to persons' subscriptions, and that the townsmen should agree with her in the town's behalf, for the dieting of Mr Angier.'

June 20, 1678. The town unanimously voted 'that Mr Angier should have £40 a year for his encouragement and his diet, and £10 of the forty in money, if God incline his heart to settle amongst us in the work of the ministry,

and this proposal was made for the present, persons manifesting themselves to be freely willing for the future to augment to the aforesaid sum according to their ability and Mr Angier's necessity ; and the townsmen and Deacon Walker were chosen to treat with Mr Angier about it.'

It was also agreed upon by the town that the sums to be raised be freely subscribed 'if it may be ;' but if the subscriptions fell short, 'Deacon Walker, Gilbert Brooks, Samuel Newman, Anthony Perry, and William Carpenter, should devise the mode to raise said sums.'

'It was also agreed that Samuel Newman and Samuel Peck should be helpful to assist the deacons in gathering in Mr Angier's maintenance.'

'Lieutenant Hunt and Ensign Peck were chosen and desired to go down with Mr Angier the next week, and do anything there is requisite to be done, in order to the settlement of Mr Angier.'

'It was also agreed that there should be a six acre lot in convenient time, land south below the burial place, for building of a house for the minister.'

'It was also agreed that Mrs Newman should have the use of the pastor's and teacher's lots of meadow, and upon the plain if she continue with us, until we have need of them for the ministry.'

August 30, 1678. The town voted to purchase the house and home lot of Mrs Newman for the use of the ministry.

January 17, 1679. To induce Mr Angier to settle, it was proposed and voted in town-meeting to give him £40 in money towards the purchase of Mr Newman's house, or for the building of another.

'It was likewise voted and agreed that whereas many did judge the town could not give away lands ; yet that Mr Angier might have a competent tract of land given him for his encouragement to settle amongst us in the

work of the ministry. Liberty therefore was granted that whereas persons were free to give Mr Angier land out of their own proportions ; that it should be laid out in some convenient place, where it may be beneficial for Mr Angier, and as little as may be, prejudicial to the town. The persons giving those lands to leave out so much again in the next divisions of lands.'

'It was likewise agreed, that if it please Mr Angier to build and not to hire Mr Noah Newman's house, that out of the aforesaid proportion of land given him he shall have six acres for a home lot upon the common below the burial place.'

'The use and improvement of the pastor's and teacher's lands were voted to Mr Angier.'

'£70 were now voted as a salary, £10 in money and £60 in country pay, as a further inducement.'

June 25, 1679. It was further voted that in future Mr Angier 'shall have such honorable maintenance yearly as his condition may require, and the abilities of the town afford, viz. £80 per annum, £20 thereof in money, and a sufficiency of firewood.' And the common land in Mantom's Neck was also offered to him.

Mr Angier was settled as the pastor at Rehoboth in the year 1679. He was born in 1655, and was graduated at Cambridge in 1673. There was evidently a strong desire amongst the people that he should assume this charge, and according to the notions of the times his support was liberal. But signs of indifference as to his support were manifested in a short time, for on the 25th of June, 1687, 'The town by a free vote manifested their willingness that our reverend pastor, Mr Samuel Angier, shall have such honorable maintenance as his condition may require and the ability of the town can afford ; in order to the management of it the town chose eight persons, namely, Joseph

Peck, sen., John Woodcock, sen., Ensign Willmarth, John Fitch, Samuel Peck, Thomas Roades, Stephen Paine, and Enoch Hunt to take pains and care to go to their neighbors to see what persons will *freely* contribute to our reverend pastor for his salary this year for his comfortable and honorable maintenance by a free subscription, and likewise to a stirring up and inciting the neighbors to the discharge of so necessary a duty.*

* About the year 1692, Mr Angier removed to Cambridge, assigning ill health as the cause of his removal, but his connexion with his church was not dissolved. There was evidently a strong attachment amongst the people to Mr Angier, but not so strong as to overcome the reluctance to pay money for preaching, the cause of which in some was avarice, in others conscientious scruples. This disposition was very prevalent from the time of the settlement of Mr Noah Newman.

On the 15th of August, 1693, 'It was voted, agreed, and enacted by the town, that as it was their desire, so it should be their utmost endeavor, to obtain Mr Thomas Greenwood to dispense the word of God to us in the time of our vacancy, until our reverend pastor, Mr Angier, returns to continue with us.'

September 11, 1693. Voted that a letter should be written to Mr Angier in behalf of the town, 'that they may know his mind about his return.' Mr Angier then visited the town, and as his own health was precarious, he advised the settlement of Mr Greenwood, and soon after took a dismission himself. Mr Thomas Greenwood, a graduate at Cambridge in 1690, was settled sometime in 1694, and was succeeded by his son, the Rev. John Greenwood.

A grand-daughter of Mr Angier was the wife of the Rev. Ephraim Hyde, subsequently a pastor of the Rehoboth church.

Another grand-daughter was the wife of the Rev. John Shaw, the first pastor of South Bridgewater.

Mr Angier married a daughter of the Rev. Urian Oakes, pastor of the church at Cambridge, (who was ejected in 1662, from his living at Litchfield, England,) and fourth president of Harvard College. President Oakes died July 25th, 1681; his wife was the daughter of the celebrated William Ames, author of the *Medulla Theologiae*, a professor at the University of Rotterdam.

Mr Angier's residence at Cambridge was short. On the 23th of August, 1696, he was chosen by the church of that part of the ancient Watertown, which is now Waltham, to be their pastor, and on the 21st of September following, the town concurred, and he was installed pastor of Watertown,

EASTHAM.

Everything of peculiar interest in the history of Eastham has already been related.

Mr Treat still remained the pastor of the ancient church there.

BRIDGEWATER.

Bridgewater, although it was twice seriously attacked during Philip's war, sustained but little injury, and although their soldiers were early and frequently engaged with the Indians, not one was killed.

On the 6th of March, 1686, the several grants to the proprietors of Bridgewater, in pursuance of an order of Court were confirmed by the governor, and the boundaries described, 'and on the 23d of December in the same year, a deed of confirmation was procured from Josiah, son of Josiah Wampatuck, called an Indian sachem, living at Mattakeset, (now Pembroke,) of all the town lying north of the south Four Mile Line, excepting the late Titticut purchase contained in the deed of Pomponoho.' For this Wampatuck was paid £10, and 'one hundred acres of land lying on the upper end of Poor Meadow on both sides of the river.' This one hundred acres were afterwards bought by individuals. 'This deed of confirmation was made to Samuel Edson, sen., Ensign Haward, and

May 25th, 1697, and was eminently successful in his ministry there. He died at Watertown, January 21st, 1719, aged sixtyfive.

His son the Rev. John Angier, was the first pastor of the east parish of the ancient Bridgewater, settled October 28th, 1724; he was born in 1701, and graduated at Harvard in 1720, married a daughter of Ezra Bourne, Esq., of Sandwich, and died April 14th, 1787, aged eightysix, having been the pastor of East Bridgewater sixtytwo years. His son Samuel graduated at Harvard in 1763, was ordained his colleague December 23d, 1767, and died in 1805. His other son Oakes was a celebrated lawyer.

John Willis, sen., in behalf of all the proprietors.' Bridgewater was twice purchased, once from Massasoiet, and once from Wampatuck.

In 1682, the following persons were the proprietors and settlers of Bridgewater, supposed to be all who were of age.

Samuel Edson and his sons, Joseph and Samuel.	William Brett and his sons, William, Nathaniel, and Elihu.
Joseph Alden and his son Isaac.	Edward Fobes.
Robert Latham and his son James.	William Fobes.
John Field.	Isaac Harris,
Joseph Lapham.	Samuel Allen and his son Samuel.
John Washburn and his sons, John, Samuel, Joseph, Thomas, and Jonathan.	Giles Leach and his son Samuel.
Guido Bailey and his son Guido.	Samuel Tompkins.
Mark Lathrop and his sons, Samuel and Edward.	Solomon Leonard and his sons, Solomon, Samuel, John, and Isaac.
Thomas Hayward and his sons, Thomas, Nathaniel, Joseph, Eli-sha, and John.	Mr James Keith.
John Hayward and his sons, John, James, and Jonathan.	John Cary and his sons, John, Francis, Jonathan, and James.
Nathaniel Willis and his sons, Elkanah, Comfort, and Benjamin.	William Snow and his sons, William and Joseph.
John Willis and his son John.	Joseph Bassett.
Samuel Packard and his sons, Samuel, Zaccheus, Nathaniel and John.	John Whitman.
John Ames and John Ames his nephew.	John Aldrich.
Thomas Snell.	Jonathan Hill.
	Samuel Sheverick.
	Richard Holt.
	Edward Mitchell.
	Nicholas Byram and his son Nicholas.
	John Gordon.
	George Turner.

The first settlement of this town was in West Bridgewater on the Nunketest or Nunketetest river.

In 1685, there was a considerable settlement in East Bridgewater.

William Brett, the ruling elder, died in 1682, 'a well-educated and intelligent man.'

Mr Keith, the only minister of this town during the colonial government of Plymouth, pursued his labors with

great zeal and assiduity, and was devoted to the interests of learning and religion. During the period between 1676 and 1692, this town continued to advance in population and wealth, and the foundation was laid for a population, which subsequently has been distinguished for correct moral habits, enterprise, industry, and learning.

MIDDLEBOROUGH.

The desolation and abandonment of Middleborough during Philip's war has been already related. All the settlers retired to Plymouth, and it was a long time before they became sufficiently numerous to support a minister. None was ordained here until after the colony had been annexed to Massachusetts. After the war had terminated the settlers slowly returned, and others came in. There were only sixteen families settled at Middleborough at the commencement of the war.

DARTMOUTH.

The names of the proprietors of Dartmouth in the confirmatory deed of William Bradford, the deputy governor, November 13, 1694, were —

Manasseh Kempton,
Seth Pope,
John Russell,
Arthur Hathaway,
Peleg Slocum,
Stephen West,
James Sisson,
John Russell, junior,
Abraham Tucker,
John Tucker,
Thomas Briggs,
Jonathan Russell,
John Hathaway,
George Cadman,
Jacob Mott,

Thomas Taber,
Jonathán Delano,
Joseph Russell,
Stephen Peckham,
Isaac Pope,
Eleazer Slocum,
John Lapham,
Joseph Ripley,
Daniel Shearman,
Mary Davis,
Thomas Taber, junior,
Lettice Jenny,
Samuel Allen,
Valentine Huddleston,
Edmund Shearman,

Eleazer Smith,	Samuel Jenny,
Return Badcock,	Mark Jenny,
Benjamin Howland,	Aaron Davis,
William Shearman,	Giles Slocum,
Ralph Earle, junior,	Joseph Tripp,
Wm Earle, son of Ralph Earle,	James Tripp,
John Shearman,	William Macomber,
Samuel Spooner,	Samuel Cornwell,
William Spooner,	Samuel Shearman,
John Spooner, junior,	Gershom Smith,
John Spooner,	Samuel Hickee,
Thomas Mitchell,	Elizabeth Ricketson,
John Tinkham,	Joseph Taber.

SWANSEY.

May 25, 1677. Voted that the townsmen shall give no more land without the approbation of the town.'

January 16, 1677-78. The order of the town for fining absentees from town-meetings was renewed and the following vote was passed: 'It is agreed, voted, and ordered, that whereas upon experience we find, that the moving of many public or private concerns in the beginning or time of our town-meetings before the first be considered and stated, tend to the neglect of many, and imperfect stating the rest: we therefore agree and order that some meet person be yearly chosen by paper votes, to whom all public and private concerns before the town-meeting shall be brought, and in the town-meeting shall orderly declare the same as time will permit, having a solution or ejection of the first, before he proceed to a second, always preferring public before private concerns to consideration; and that no man shall depart from the town-meeting before it be dissolved by our moderator so chosen aforesaid, on the penalty of 6*d.* for every such fault.'

Mr Myles during the Indian war had retired to Boston, and was instrumental in establishing the first Baptist church there in 1679. On the 21st of May, 1678, 'Mr

John Allen and John Brown were chosen to draw up a letter in the behalf of the church and town, to be sent to Mr John Myles pastor of the church and minister of the town, manifesting our desires of his return to us.' On the 26th of November in the same year, 'it was voted for the encouragement of Mr Myles in the work of the ministry amongst us, to pay to the said Mr John Myles sixty pounds yearly, thirty pounds in provision at money price, and thirty pounds in current country pay. And whereas Mr John Myles desires to be accommodated with a servant, horses and cart, and other conveniences for his comfortable subsistence, the town doth promise to give to the said Mr Myles the sum of four pounds in money, which may procure the said conveniences, which four pounds is to be paid at the end of the year after the coming of Mr Myles amongst us.' As Mr Myles receipts for this sum March 13, 1681, it is probable he returned to Swansey early in 1680.

September 30, 1679. It was voted to build a meeting-house; the former one had probably been burnt by the Indians, although no mention is made of it. Swansey was desolated during Philip's war, and most of the inhabitants had retired to Rhode Island.

Mr Myles died in 1683. He was a man of learning and of elevated views; there was little in his creed or practice different from those of the other clergymen of the colony, but doubts as to the propriety and efficacy of administering the rite of baptism to infants, and more expanded and liberal principles; yet his conscience was sufficiently scrupulous, as his pilgrimage in the wilderness may testify.*

* The wife of Mr Myles, whose name was Anne, survived him. His son John Myles, the first town-clerk of Swansey, was educated at Cambridge.

Samuel Myles, the son (or grandson) of the Swansey minister, was the

Samuel Luther succeeded Mr Myles, and was ordained in 1685. He remained pastor of this church until his death in 1724.*

Considerable controversy arose between the town and the government of the colony concerning the lands above Showomet which the colony and the town both claimed, and Thomas Estabrook was appointed 'to get evidence from Mr John Coggeshall, and William Ahaton, and Wecapimset John of Tatamomuck, formerly being the true proprietors of the lands lying above Showomet.

12th November, 1680. Hugh Cole, Samuel Luther, and Obadiah Bowen, senior, were chosen a committee 'to lay out with the Taunton gentlemen our two mile due from Taunton to Swansey.'

Timothy Brooks and John Wilson, senior, were admitted to the second rank; John Thurber, jun., James Cole and Hugh Cole, jun. to the third rank.

1681. Timothy Brooks 'had liberty to set up a saw-mill.'

May 16, 1690. 'The orders agreed on at Plymouth, February 11, 1690—91, were read. Voted *nemine con-*

second rector of King's Chapel, Boston, to which office he was inducted, June 29th, 1689, and died March 4th, 1729. It is worthy of remark that the descendant of one who was driven to America by the terrors of Episcopacy, should have embraced Episcopacy there, where it was disarmed of its terrors, so soon after the death of his ancestor.

* *Extract from the Swansey records.* 'Aug. 23, 1693, the warrant from the Quarter Sessions was read, requiring the town to choose a minister according to law. After some debate, the meeting was adjourned for half an hour; the church by Lieut. Cole returned and replied thus, that they had a minister they apprehended was according to law, namely, Elder Samuel Luther, and desired the vote of the town to see their assent and approbation, and after some debate, the meeting was adjourned.'

At the adjournment, 'the meeting voted to put to vote whether Elder Samuel Luther should be minister of this town, and proceeded to vote, and chose Elder Samuel Luther minister for the town of Swansey.'

tradicente that they would give no money towards the procuring a charter.'

PLANTATION OF MONAMOYET.

The plantation of Monamoyet or Monamoy on Cape Cod, (now the town of Chatham,) deserves some notice in this history, although strictly speaking it was not a town while in the Plymouth jurisdiction.

On the 10th of April, 1665, 'William Nickerson bought of John Quason, alias Towsowet, sachem of Monamoy, a tract of land near Potanumaquut,' which is bounded in the deed.

In the same year Thomas Hinckley, John Freeman, Nathaniel Bacon, and other partners, obtained a grant from the Plymouth Court, which gave them 'the right to purchase of the natives the lands of Monamoyet and the places adjacent.' On the 3d of July, 1672, they conveyed their right to Nickerson, who had made previously another large purchase there from Mattaquason and John Quason, the sachems of the place. This purchase was made June 19, 1672.

Subsequently, namely, on the 29th of March, 1678, and August 16, 1682, he made other purchases.

A settlement was commenced immediately after the first purchase in 1665, and on the 11th of February, 1691, 'liberty was granted to its inhabitants to elect a deputy to the General Court,' but it does not appear to have been recognised as a town by any formal act.

DIVISION OF THE COLONY INTO COUNTIES.

In 1685, the colony was divided into three counties, which were called Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable. (The following is from Judge Davis's table in the New England Memorial.)

The county of Plymouth consisted of the following towns :

settled	Plymouth,	} In Plymouth was included the present towns of Plimpton, Kingston, Carver, part of Halifax and part of Wareham, (<i>Agawam</i> .)
1620		
bounded	<i>Pawtucket</i> ,	
1640	<i>Apawm</i> ,	} Then including Pembroke and Hanson, and parts of Kingston.
A town in	Duxbury,	
1637	<i>Namassakeset</i> ,	
1636	Scituate, <i>Satuit</i> ,	Hanover.
Incorp.	Marshfield,	
1640	<i>Missaucatucket</i> ,	
1656	Bridgewater,	} North Bridgewater, West Bridgewater, East Bridgewater.
	<i>Nuckatateest</i> ,	
1660	Middleborough, <i>Namasket</i> ,	Part of Halifax.
1650	Accord Pond shares,	} Plantations, { Probably in Scituate, Hanover and Abington.
	Ford's Farm,	
		{ Part of Abington.

Of this county Plymouth was made the shire town.

The county of Bristol comprised the following towns and plantations :

Incorp. in	Taunton,	} Comprised the towns of Norton, Dighton, Raynham, Easton, Mansfield, Berkley.
1639	<i>Cohannet</i> ,	
1645	Rehoboth,	
	<i>Seekonk</i> ,	} Seekonk, Pawtucket.
	<i>Wannamoiset</i> ,	
1664	Dartmouth,	} New Bedford, (<i>Accushena</i> ,) Westport, (<i>Accukset</i>), Fair Haven, (<i>Sconticut</i> .)
	<i>Accushena</i> ,	
1667	Swansea,	} Warren and Barrington in Rhode Island, Somerset.
	<i>Pokanoket</i> ,	
	<i>Savams</i> ,	
1681	Bristol,	<i>Kekimuet</i> .
1682	Little Compton, R. I.	<i>Saconet</i> .
1683	Freetown,	<i>Assonet</i> ,
	Rehoboth North Purchase,	} Plantations, { Attleborough, Cumberland.
	Gore,	
	<i>Pancateest</i> ,	} Afterwards the town of Tiverton, R. I.
	<i>Pocasset</i> ,	

Of this county, Bristol was created the shire town.

The county of Barnstable comprised the following towns and plantations :

Incorp.					
1639	Barnstable,	{	<i>Mattachiest,</i>		
			<i>Cummaquid.</i>		
1639	Sandwich,		<i>Sharome,</i>		
1639	Yarmouth,		<i>Mattakeest,</i>	Dennis,	<i>Nobscusset.</i>
1646	Eastham,		<i>Nauset,</i>	{	<i>Welfleet, Punnonakanit,</i>
					<i>Orleans, Naumskeket,</i>
1660	Massapee,	a Christian Indian Plantation.			
		The following plantations.			
1640	<i>Saukatucket,</i>		Harwich,	Brewster.	
	<i>Pamet,</i>		Truro,	Provincetown.	
	Monamoy, a Plantation in 1686, comprised the present town of Chatham.				
A town in	Rochester,	{	Comprised a part of Wareham. First annexed to		
1686	<i>Seipican,</i>		Barnstable, then to Plymouth.		
1686	Falmouth,		<i>Suckinussett.*</i>		

Of this county, Barnstable was constituted the shire town.

* In 1685, associates authorized to hold County Courts somewhat similar to the ancient Courts of Common Pleas, were appointed in the counties of Plymouth and Bristol, viz. for Plymouth, Nathaniel Thomas, John Cushing, Ephraim Morton; for Bristol, Nicholas Peck, Thomas Leonard, Joseph Church.

During the government of Sir Edmund Andros, Courts of Common Pleas in the three counties were established *eo nomine* : for the county of Bristol, Nathaniel Byefield, Chief Justice; Benjamin Church and John Brown; Stephen Burton was Clerk of the Peace and of Probate, and Register of Deeds.

In 1689, the Associate Courts were restored. In Plymouth county were appointed, Nathaniel Thomas, Ephraim Morton, Thomas Howard; in Bristol county, George Macy, Joseph Church, Seth Pope; in Barnstable county, Jonathan Sparrow, Stephen Skiff.

All the associates were reappointed in 1690, and in 1691 all except George Macy in the county of Bristol, whose place was filled by Thomas Leonard.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE COLONY FROM THE TIME OF THE DEPOSITION OF SIR EDMUND ANDROS IN APRIL, 1689, TO ITS ANNEXATION TO MASSACHUSETTS BY THE CHARTER OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN 1692—AND THE CONCLUSION.

AFTER the deposition of Sir Edmund Andros the former governments of the several colonies were quietly resumed, and the officers elected in 1686 under the charters, temporarily exercised their functions by virtue of their former appointment.

The General Court of election assembled at Plymouth 1689. as formerly on the first Tuesday of June.

Thomas Hinckley was elected governor; William Bradford deputy governor. John Freeman, Daniel Smith, Barnabas Lothrop, John Thacher, John Walley, the assistants of 1686, were again elected, and John Cushing of Scituate, in the place of John Alden, deceased. Mr Lothrop did not accept.

The deputies from Plymouth were John Bradford, Isaac Cushman; Duxbury, Edward Southworth, Seth Arnold; Scituate, Joseph Silvester, Jeremiah Hatch; Sandwich, Stephen Skiff, Thomas Tupper; Taunton, Captain Thomas Leonard, Nathaniel Williams; Barnstable, Shubael Dimmack, John Gorham; Yarmouth, John Miller, Jeremiah Hawes; Marshfield, Nathaniel Winslow, John Barker; Eastham, Captain Jonathan Sparrow, Mark Snow; Reho-

both, Nicholas Peck, Samuel Peck ; Bridgewater, William Brett ; Swansey, Timothy Brooks, William Hayward ; Dartmouth, Seth Pope, Jonathan Delano ; Middleborough, Isaac Howland ; Bristol, John Rogers, Jabez Howland ; Little Compton, Henry Head ; Freetown, Thomas Terry.

After the business of the election was completed, the Court adopted the following declaration and order :

‘Whereas, through the great changes divine Providence hath ordered out, both in England and in this country, we, the loyal subjects of the crown of England, are left in an unsettled state, destitute of government, and exposed to the ill consequences thereof, having heretofore enjoyed a quiet settlement of government, in this their majesty’s colony of New Plymouth, for more than threescore and six years, without any interruption ; having also been by the late kings of England, by their royal letters, graciously owned and acknowledged therein ; whereby, notwithstanding our late unjust interruption and suspension therefrom, by the illegal arbitrary power of Sir Edmund Andros, (now ceased,) the General Court held here in the name of their present majesties’ William and Mary, king and queen of England, &c, together with the encouragement given by their said majesties gracious declarations, and in humble confidence of their said majesties good liking, do therefore, hereby reassume, and declare their reassuming of their said former way of government, according to such wholesome constitutions, rules, and orders, as were here in force in June, 1686, our title thereto being warranted by prescription, and otherwise as aforesaid, and expects a ready submission thereunto, by all their majesties good subjects of this colony, until their majesties, or this Court, shall otherwise order, and that all our courts be hereafter held, and all warrants directed, and officers sworn in the name of their majesties, William and Mary, king and queen of England.’

An address was voted to King William and Queen Mary, which was forwarded to Sir Henry Ashurst, and by him presented to their majesties, and graciously received. 'The Honorable Thomas Hinckley, Esq.,' was requested to prepare it, and it was to include a prayer, 'for the re-establishment of their former enjoyed liberties and privileges, both sacred and civil.'

In August, 1689, another court was called, to which new deputies were summoned. In Plymouth, Duxbury, and Middleborough, the deputies were reelected. In Scituate, Mr Silvester was reelected, and Samuel Clapp succeeded Mr Hatch; in Sandwich, Mr Skiff was reelected, and William Bassett succeeded Mr Tupper; in Taunton, Mr Leonard was reelected, and John Hall succeeded Mr Williams; in Barnstable, John Gorham was reelected, and Barnabas Lothrop elected; in Yarmouth, Mr Miller was reelected, and Silas Sears elected; in Marshfield, Mr Winslow was reelected, and Isaac Little elected; in Eastham, Mark Snow was reelected, and John Doane elected; in Rehoboth, Samuel Peck was reelected, and Thomas Cooper elected; in Bridgewater, William Brett was reelected, with Thomas Haward; in Swansey, William Hayward was reelected, and Hugh Cole elected; in Dartmouth, Seth Pope was reelected; in Bristol, John Saffin and Nathaniel Byefield were elected; Colonel Byefield never took his seat; Rochester was represented for the first time by Joseph Burgess.

The Court instructed Governor Hinckley to regain their 'publique seal,' (which had been seized by Andros,) 'if it may be, and if not, to procure a new one at the charge of the colony.'

They also ordered that those towns, 'where the selectmen are not accepted, or are not yet chosen, should make a new choice out of the freemen;' and that such select-

men when chosen; should take the oath as usual, before a magistrate.'

The constables of 1686, were made accountable to the treasurer for the rates committed to them; and such inhabitants as had not paid in that year, were directed to do so, under penalty of distress.

Rates having been made in the several counties for the payment of the bounties on wolves' heads and county debts, the constables were directed to account with the sheriffs or county-treasurers for the same, and were authorized after demand and refusal, to make distress, and the sheriffs and county-treasurers were required to account for all moneys received belonging to the king or county.

The war, known by the name of King William's war, having commenced, and many injuries having been committed by the Indians in the eastern country, the council of war became anxious that the General Court should meet, and a convention of the people having been held, who were anxious for the advice and assistance of the court for repelling and suppressing the barbarous heathen that have committed many barbarous murders and outrages in the eastern parts on the subjects of the crown of England.' The Court convened at Plymouth on the second Wednesday of August, 1689, and declaring their concurrence with the wishes of the people 'according to the weak capacity' of the colony, chose Governor Hinckley and John Walley their Commissioners to meet those of the other colonies, 'their friends and confederates.'

The Court instructed the Commissioners,

'1. That they should make diligent inquiry into the grounds of the war,' to their own satisfaction.

'2. That they take care that we be not overcharged beyond our proportion for the taxing on said war.

' 3. That if it be consonant with justice and reason, we may not be involved in the charges formerly contracted about said Indians or other public services.

' 4. That the soldiers might go voluntarily without impressment, 6s. per week should be given to each soldier, and 8 or 10s. per head to our company of soldiers, for the scalp of every fighting man of the enemy; to have all persons that they shall take or captivate, all portable plunder to be divided among them, and every disabled soldier to be provided for in the same manner as he had lived before he engaged, and also to have victuals and ammunition allowed them while upon their expedition.

' 5. That in regard the other colonies are better stored with provisions and ammunition than ourselves, they may disburse on the public faith, to be paid in time convenient.

' 6. That their proportion of soldier's wages, and what shall in the close remain due both Indians and English, and Indians in these parts, may be paid by us here at home, to prevent charge of transportation and other loss.

' 7. That care be forthwith taken to engage the Mohawks with us against our said enemies, by sending some meet persons unto them with a present, to treat with them in order thereunto.'

The premium for scalps and the project for engaging the Mohawks would be repelled by the scrupulous humanity of the present age, but formerly the practice was so common that it scarcely excited a remark. On our frontiers, however, even now, men of character and rank have no hesitation in encouraging a practice so revolting to those who have never experienced the danger or the cruelties of a savage enemy. Before we condemn our ancestors we should endeavor, (in imagination at least,)

to realize their situation, and if we succeeded, our disgust might be lessened.

The war became general, and all the New England colonies were engaged. On the sixth of September the council of war of New Plymouth appointed Benjamin Church major and commander-in-chief of the Plymouth forces, with ample powers. He received the same appointment from Massachusetts on the 17th of September, and on the 18th of September he received his instructions from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who then were Thomas Danforth, president, and Elisha Cook from Massachusetts; Samuel Mason and William Pitkin from Connecticut; Thomas Hinckley and John Walley from Plymouth.

A reward of '£8 per head for every fighting Indian,' was offered to the men. Church raised two hundred and fifty volunteers for this service.

Importuned by Governor Bradstreet, commissioned by the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, and instructed by the Commissioners of the confederated colonies, Captain, now Major Church, set forth on his first eastern expedition as commander-in-chief. He embarked his forces at Boston, and the fleet had a fine run to Casco Bay, (now Portland.) As soon as he arrived in the harbor he learned that there was a large force of Frenchmen and Indians in his neighborhood.

The settlements in Maine were few in number, distant from each other, containing few inhabitants, and confined to the sea-coast. The French were in force on the Penobscot and on the upper waters of the Kennebec, and Canada was in the rear of the great wilderness which separated the sea-coast from the St Lawrence. An enemy after despoiling the settlements might retreat into the boundless wastes of the forest, and secrete them-

selves in lurking places familiar to them but unknown to their pursuers. This circumstance gave to an Indian war in that quarter a character entirely different from one where dense settlements surrounded the theatre of hostile operations. It was impossible to penetrate the forests, and equally impossible to destroy the smallest force which might fly into its recesses.

The town of Casco Bay, although it contained a fort, was nearly defenceless, and the united force of French and Indians was supposed to amount to seven hundred. After his troops had disembarked and were rested, Church marched out of the town in pursuit of the enemy. He ascertained that the Cape Cod Indians under his command had sold almost all their equipments, and that their powder and ball were carried in the corners of their blankets, having parted with their powder horns and wallets. This circumstance occasioned some delay. The bullets were too large for the bore of the muskets; this oversight had nearly occasioned a serious disaster; the discovery was not made until a part of Church's force had engaged the enemy; Church immediately obtained smaller bullets from the vessels, and employed a part of his men in shaping others into slugs. The conflicting troops had crossed a river, and when Church returned with the bullets, the tide had risen so high that he was unable to cross; in this situation an old Saconet warrior called Captain Lightfoot, leaving his gun, ventured to swim the river, and to return, carrying the powder which had been obtained from the vessels on his head, and a kettle of bullets in each hand, and the party which were engaged were enabled to continue the fight.

In the mean time, two companies, one of English and one of Indians, who could not cross the river, were firing on the enemy over the heads of their friends. Church

ordered them to march up the river to a bridge, over which he led them in safety, although the enemy had endeavored to obstruct the passage by logs of wood, and had erected shelters along the bank ; and he then ordered the English company to march down by the river side, and taking the command of the Indian company himself, he penetrated the thickets until the enemy were descried running in a direction between him and the bridge ; fearing that the town might be assailed, he returned to the bridge, but soon ascertained that the enemy had retreated.

In this affair the company of Captain Hall, which had been first engaged suffered the most, and at one time were in great danger ; but being sustained by the English company under Captain Southworth and a company of Saconet Indians under Captain Numposh, they succeeded in driving the enemy away. Several friendly Indians were wounded, and one mortally.

Church continued to range the woods in pursuit of the enemy, but without success ; they had abandoned the country. He visited the several garrisons and went up the Kennebec river, but could make no discoveries.

At the approach of winter he was directed by the government of Massachusetts to place garrisons under suitable officers, and to return with the remainder of the troops. This order threw the people of Casco Bay into great alarm. They importuned Church to take them away in the transports. They were encouraged by strong assurances from Church that their actual situation should be made known to the government of Massachusetts, and strong representations made in their behalf, and that he would return in the spring with his volunteers and Indians. The settlers however sent Captain Scottoway with Church to Boston, to aid him in his efforts to obtain succor.

The government of Massachusetts occupied altogether with Sir Edmund Andros, who was still in confinement, paid not the least attention to the representations of Church and Scottoway. After waiting three weeks, the patience of Church was exhausted; he drew up a statement of the deplorable situation of the people of Casco, in the following terms:

‘To the honored governor and council of Massachusetts;

‘GENTLEMEN—Whereas, by virtue of yours, with Plymouth’s desires and commands, I went eastward in the last expedition against the common Indian enemy, where Providence so ordered that we attacked their greatest body of forces, coming then for the destruction of Falmouth, which we know marched off repulsed with considerable damage, leaving the ground, and have never since been seen there or in any place adjacent. The time of the year being then too late to prosecute any further design, and other accidents falling out contrary to my expectation, impeded the desired success. Upon my then removal from the province of Maine, the inhabitants were very solicitous that this enemy might be further prosecuted, willing to venture their lives and fortunes in the said enterprise, wherein they might serve God, their king and country, and enjoy quiet and peaceable habitations; upon which I promised to signify the same to yourselves, and willing to venture that little which Providence hath entrusted me with, on the said account. The season of the year being such, if some speedy action be not performed in attacking them, they will certainly be upon us in our out-towns, God knows where, and the inhabitants there, not being able to defend themselves, without doubt many souls will be cut off, as our last year’s experience wofully hath declared. The inhabitants there, trust to your protection, having undertaken government and your propriety; if

nothing be performed on the said account, the best way, under correction, is to demolish the garrison, and draw off the inhabitants, that they may not be left to a merciless enemy; and that the arms and ammunition may not be there for the strengthening of the enemy, who without doubt have need enough, having exhausted their greatest store in this winter season. I have performed my promise to them, and acquitted myself in specifying the same to yourselves, not that I desire to be in any action, although willing to serve my king and country, and may pass under the censure of scandalous tongues in the last expedition, which I hope they will amend on the first opportunity of service. I leave to mature consideration, the loss of trade and fishery; the war brought to the doors. What a triumph it will be to the enemy, derision to our neighbors, besides dishonor to God and our nation, and grounds of frowns from our prince, the frustration of those, whose eyes are upon you for help; who might have otherwise applied themselves to their king. Gentlemen, this I thought humbly to propose unto you, that I might discharge myself in my trust from yourselves, and promise to the inhabitants of the province, but especially my duty to God, her majesty, and my nation, praying for your honors' prosperity, subscribe,

Your servant,

‘BENJAMIN CHURCH.’

This statement was laid before the council on the 6th of February.

The predictions of Church were verified. Casco Bay, (then Falmouth, now Portland,) was attacked by a force of French and Indians, under the command of the Baron Castine, and nearly all the inhabitants were massacred.

For his services, the government of Plymouth paid Major Church £42, and referred him to Massachusetts for the

balance of his pay, refusing to allow him any more. Massachusetts, although he acted under the commission of their governor as commander-in-chief of the expedition, for them, as well as for Plymouth, and under the instructions of the Commissioners of the confederated colonies, rejected his application, and refused him any compensation !

At the June session previous to Major Church's expedition, the Court passed additional orders to restrict the Indians in the colony closely to their bounds, from which they were not to pass without a certificate from a magistrate, selectman, or commissioned officer, on pain of imprisonment, and that Indians coming from all other colonies should be apprehended, and brought before a magistrate for examination, and for every hostile Indian a reward of £16 should be paid to his captor, and 5s. for killing an Indian enemy. Any Indian servant discovering any dangerous plot or conspiracy of Indians, should be emancipated, and his master paid a reasonable price for his services, and the same being done by an Englishman or free Indian, he was to have £10 reward.

The roving habits of the Indians were such that communications between those who were wide from each other were easily made, and there was always danger that hostilities in one quarter might occasion them in another far distant, and the government of Plymouth had all the atrocities which had attended Philip's war, fresh in their remembrance.

The Court also at the same session, took the proper precautions for organizing and preparing the military force of the colony. The elections were to be completed in the several towns, and returns made forthwith to the council of war, and the military officers were all specially directed to encourage the enlistment both of English and

Indians, under Church in his first expedition to the east. The selectmen were particularly directed to supply the enlisted Indians with necessaries. At the August session of the Court it was ordered 'that if a sufficient number of volunteers could not be obtained, the remainder were to be supplied by impressment, and any one who should have been impressed, and should refuse to go, should pay a fine of £4, or be imprisoned. The fines to be appropriated for the expenses of the war, and the selectmen were required to use their influence and exertions to procure loans of money in their respective towns.*

Towns not having appointed their quota of officers, were required to do it. The major to appoint the time, and the returns were to be made to the council of war.

* The money to be raised was apportioned amongst the towns as follows :

The soldiers and arms were apportioned amongst the respective towns as follows :

		Men.	Arms.
Plymouth,	£5 00 00	4	3
Duxbury,	2 10 00	2	2
Bridgewater,	3 00 00	3	2
Scituate,	8 00 00	6	5
Sandwich,	5 00 00	3	3
Taunton,	6 00 00	4	4
Yarmouth,	4 00 00	3	3
Barnstable,	5 00 00	4	3
Marshfield,	4 00 00	3	3
Rehoboth,	4 10 00	4	3
Eastham,	4 00 00	4	3
Swansey,	3 00 00	0	0
Dartmouth,	3 10 00	3	2
Middleborough,	1 00 00	1	1
Mannamoy,	10 00	1	1
Little Compton,	2 10 00	2	2
Freetown,	10 00	1	1
Bristol,	4 00 00	3	2
Rochester,	10 00	1	1
Succanaset,	1 00 00	1	1

The arms which were required were a well fixt gun, sword or hatchet, a or horn cartouch-box, suitable ammunition, and 'a *sapsack*.'

The Court met again in October, and required the majors of each regiment to procure lists of all in their regiments who were between sixteen and sixty, to be delivered to one of the Commissioners of the colony, 'by them to be carried to Boston, in order to proportion the charges of the present war.'

In December there was another meeting of the Court. It was then enacted that all officers chosen on or before the year 1686, 'or that have been orderly chosen and allowed since their majesty's accession to the throne, and the late revolution of the government,' who had not been commissioned, should 'be forthwith commissioned,' but if any person should not accept said commission, and take the oath of allegiance to their majesties, 'that the town should be required to make a new choice forthwith, and the towns refusing or neglecting to make such choice, and being convicted thereof 'before a council of war,' should be fined £50. This fine might be levied upon a single inhabitant, or it might be levied upon all the inhabitants and rateable estate belonging to the towns. The officer sent to notify the inhabitants or soldiers of any town neglecting to give notice, to be fined £5, to be paid for the military service of the country, to the commander of the regiment, 'such officer being convicted thereof before the council of war, or a county court.' The commander was then to issue another order to the same person, or another under the like penalty. If the neglect was in the town, the Court were 'to appoint and commission officers for such towns and places as are needful.'

The town of Taunton had liberty to have two companies, and to choose officers accordingly, 'provided they could agree to be divided by the ground, otherwise they were directed to come to an orderly choice of a captain

and other officers if needed, and to make return to the major of the regiment.

In December, 1689, the deputies were assembled on a new summons. From Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Sandwich, Taunton, Rehoboth, Marshfield, Bridgewater and Middleborough, the former deputies were reelected. In Barnstable, John Goram was reelected alone, and in Yarmouth, John Miller; in Eastham, Mr Doane was reelected, and Jonathan Sparrow elected; in Dartmouth, Mr Pope was reelected with Jonathan Delano; in Bristol, John Saffin was reelected alone; in Little Compton, Henry Head was elected; in Freetown, Thomas Terry, and Succonnesset or Falmouth, was represented for the first time by John Robinson.

Major Church had no confidence in the success of the expedition which was sent out by Massachusetts against Quebec in 1690, under the command of Sir William Phipps and Major John Walley, and the event justified his sagacity; its results were disastrous.

The governor and council of Massachusetts sent for Church when they learned that the Indians had taken the stone fort at Pejepscot in Maine, and notwithstanding their former treatment, they were not ashamed to urge him to take the command of another expedition to the eastward, and for that purpose to raise volunteers. Church was extremely reluctant to engage, but at last overcome by their importunities and strong appeals to his patriotic feelings, he had the folly or the virtue to consent to take the command, if it was agreeable to the government of Plymouth.

Governor Hinckley sent an express to Church to invite him to an interview at his residence. When he arrived he found a part of the council of war assembled. It was determined that Major Church should enlist his former

Indian soldiers, and that two companies of English should be raised. One captain to be from the county of Bristol, and the other either from the county of Plymouth or Barnstable.

The governor engaged to provide vessels sufficient to transport this force and their provisions and warlike stores, and for this engagement he supposed himself warranted by the letter from the government of Massachusetts undertaking for all expenses. At the appointed time Church having raised the full quota of soldiers in the county of Bristol, where he lived, marched with them to Plymouth in pursuance of his orders. On his arrival he found neither provisions, ammunition, nor transports. An express was immediately sent to the governor at Barnstable, who repaired to Plymouth forthwith. At last a miserable provision for the transportation of the troops was made. Church having received his instructions from the Plymouth council of war, embarked. By his commission he was constituted major and commander-in-chief of all the forces both English and Indian, and he was directed to obey the instructions of the council of war of New Plymouth, and of the governor and council of Massachusetts. The commission was issued on the second day of September, 1690.

A fine wind soon bore the expedition to Piscataqua, (Portsmouth.) Here he was directed to take the instructions of Major Pike, the agent of Massachusetts, who was required to raise the additional number of men necessary for the expedition. Church required two companies which were ready in nine days, and his whole number then amounted to three hundred and fifty. On the 9th of September he received instructions from Major Pike by which he was directed to land at Casco Bay, and then to march to the head-quarters of the Indians at

Pejepscot or Androscoggin, 'or any other place, according as he might have hope or intelligence of the residence of the enemy.'

After landing his whole force at Casco Bay, Church proceeded rapidly to Pejepscot, which he found abandoned by the enemy. He then marched to Androscoggin. When he approached the fort he discovered the young De Aulnay and his wife, with two English captives. De Aulnay escaped into the fort, but his wife was shot and the captives released. The fort was nearly surprised, and the occupants had barely time to escape before the English entered under Captain Walton, Church leading another party down the side of the river which ran near the fort. Some of the enemy in their flight ran into the river, and others under the falls. The first were killed, the latter escaped. Several women and children were taken in the fort, amongst whom were the wives and children of Worumbos, the sachem of the Androscoggin Indians, and of Hakins the sachem of Pennacook; and only one man. Several English captives were released. Church's men were excessively anxious for a victim, and were determined to kill their captive, but he was saved by Church in consequence of the intercession of Mrs Hutchings, one of the English captives, who represented him to have been the instrument to save the lives of all the English captives; on the next day he escaped. Church ordered all the corn to be destroyed except enough for two Indian women, whom he determined to leave in the fort. He gave them two kettles and some biscuit, instructing them at the same time to tell the Indians when they came, 'that he was known by the name of Captain Church, and lived in the westerly part of Plymouth government, and that those Indians who came with him were formerly King Philip's men, and that he met with them in

Philip's war, and drawn off from him, to fight for the English against the said Philip and his associates, who then promised to fight for the English as long as they had one enemy left, and said, that they did not question, but before Indian corn was ripe to have Philip's head, notwithstanding he had twice as many men as were in their country; and that they had killed and taken one thousand three hundred and odd of Philip's men, women, and children, and Philip himself with several other sachems; and that they should tell Hakins and Worumbos, that if they had a mind to see their wives and children, they should come to Wells' garrison, and that there they should hear of them, &c.'

After this, Church abandoned the fort, and marched with all his forces to Mequait, and embarking in the transports, sailed for Winter harbor.

Discovering some smoke in the neighborhood of Scammon's garrison, Church sent out a scout of sixty men, who, on approaching a river, discovered the enemy on the opposite side; those, however, who were on the same side with the English, ran to a canoe and pushed off into the stream, but were all killed. The enemy fled. The elder De Aulnay and one Baker, an English captive, hearing the guns, supposed they were fired by friends, and came down the river in a canoe. De Aulnay discovering his mistake escaped; the Englishman came to his countrymen. At Pejepscot plain they discovered a large quantity of beaver which had been hid. Having now secured some plunder, there was a disposition to return amongst the officers as well as soldiers. A council of war having been called according to the instructions, Church, notwithstanding his urgent remonstrances, was out-voted. He offered to remain with sixty men, as he was in confident expectation that the enemy would come, and he was

anxious to engage them, but sixty could not be found who were willing to remain. They were now all embarked. In the neighborhood of Mayr. Point they discovered eight or nine canoes filled with Indians, who went up the river. The English captain who had been the first to propose that the expedition should return, fearful that the discovery of the Indians might delay it, separated from the fleet in the night, but ran aground. The Indian who had escaped, informed one Anthony Bracket of the situation of the English, who being a good pilot, went on board the grounded vessel and got her off, and the whole fleet moved down to Perpodack, where it was anchored. Here a part of the men were disembarked for quarters during the night. After the disembarkation Church and Captain Converse while returning to the vessels found a party of Captain Southworth's Indians on shore. Church gave them strict orders to make no fires, telling them at the same time that the enemy would be upon them. They laughed, saying 'our major is afraid.' Church and Converse then returned to the vessels; before morning these Indians had kindled fires, and were singing and dancing before them. Church directed Captain Southworth to go on shore and attend to his men, and soon after followed him in a boat, but before he landed, the enemy fired upon these Saconet Indians. In their surprise they ran down the bank to the river side; the major ordered the forces from the vessels to land immediately, which they did in the midst of a hot fire. He then with much difficulty succeeded in rallying the Indians, and persuaded them to remount the bank, and to charge the enemy, which was effected, and the enemy were put to flight and pursued so closely that thirteen of their canoes were taken, and an Indian who had borne off a bloody trophy of his prowess, which was the scalp of an Englishman.

Summary justice was executed on him, and he was killed and scalped. In this fight the English lost several killed and wounded, and the enemy more.

The troops were embarked for Piscataqua. Major Church went to Wells and appointed Captain Andros to command the garrison there.

Hakins and Worumbos and six other sachems, came with a flag of truce to Wells, and obtained their wives and children.

Indians were never known to forget benefits or injuries. In an attack on Old York, January, 1692, some old women and a dozen small children were spared and given up to the English, to reciprocate the previous kindness of Major Church. One of the children was the celebrated Colonel Jeremiah Moulton.

On Church's arrival at Piscataqua, many of his men fearing that they might be compelled to return, pretended they had the small-pox, it being a feint to remove all impediments to their return home. Church secured a hospital for them, but told them that after they went in they should remain until they had passed through the disorder. This cured them at once, and finding their anxiety to return was unconquerable, he divided the plunder, and permitted the Plymouth forces to go.

The inhabitants of Piscataqua were extremely solicitous that Church should remain and assist them in raising new forces, engaging to supply the men if Massachusetts would supply the provisions; to effect this, Captain Plaisted was despatched to Boston. But the government of Massachusetts alleging their great losses in the Canada expedition under Sir William Phipps and Major Walley, declined to furnish the provisions, and Major Church was then compelled to dismiss his remaining force. He returned to Boston with Captain Converse in a sloop commanded by Captain Alden.

He returned worn down with fatigue, his clothes in tatters, and moneyless to a solitary sixpence. He was received by the government of Massachusetts in the most frigid and repulsive manner, without a word of compliment or even of civility, and without even a whisper of remuneration.

Under such circumstances he disdained all importunity, and to supply the means of his indispensable expenses solicited the loan of 40s. from two gentlemen of the town whom he knew, and it was refused ! And this great Captain who had saved New England by his prowess, was compelled to solicit the 'charity' of Captain Alden for three nights' lodging.*

The generosity, justice, and the honesty of the Plymouth government limited his remuneration to £14, and Massachusetts more generous, permitted Plymouth to engross the whole credit of paying the miserable wages which their parsimony permitted to the commander-in-chief of the united forces of both colonies.

* As Church and Converse were walking near a celebrated tavern kept by one Pollard, at the south end of Boston, they wished to take a parting glass, but their united means were not sufficient to procure this trifling indulgence, Church having but 6d., and Converse not a penny ! Church pursued his walk to Roxbury, and at the tavern found Stephen Brayton, one of his neighbors, and a drover. He solicited a loan of Brayton of 40s., the honest drover told him he should have £40 if he wanted it. The necessities of this heroic man, which the united generosity of Boston would not relieve, were relieved by the kindness of a drover !

His brother, Caleb Church, who lived at Watertown, brought him a horse, and he returned home.

This niggardly parsimony has been the bane and curse of New England. It has checked the spirit of enterprise ; it has chilled the aspirations of patriotism ; it has blighted the fairest hopes ; it has withered the noblest hearts, and what is worse, while it denies the means of living, it would snatch from a public benefactor the fame of his good deeds, as though that was too much for the public to give !

Church was compelled to sell at a reduced price a part of his lands to pay the expenses of this expedition !

At this time however, there was much excitement against Major Church from false reports, of which he became temporarily the victim. This circumstance he feelingly relates in a letter which he addressed to sundry persons living at the eastward, dated at Bristol, where he then lived, November 27, 1690. Of the council of Massachusetts, he says, 'I then took notice of the council that they looked upon me with an ill aspect not judging me worthy to receive thanks for the service I had done your parts ; nor as much as asked me whether I wanted money to bear my expenses, or a horse to carry me home. But I was forced, for want of money, being far from friends, to go to Roxbury on foot.' When he reached home he found that a day of humiliation had been ordered throughout the jurisdiction of Plymouth 'because of the frown of God upon those forces sent under my command, and the ill success we had for want of good conduct, all which was caused by those false reports which were posted home by those ill-affected officers that were under my conduct ; especially one, which yourselves very well know, who had the advantage of being at home a week before me, being sick of action, and wanting the advantage to be at the bank, which he was every day mindful of, more than fighting the enemy in their own country.'

When the General Court sat at Plymouth, Church repaired there, and he continues, 'I gave them an account of my eastward transactions, and made them sensible of the falseness of those reports that were posted to them by ill hands, and found some small favorable acceptance with them ; so far that I was credited.'

He then alludes to other slanders that he laid 'under great reflections from some of yours in the eastward parts,'

as 'a very covetous person, that came there to enrich himself.' 'That he killed the cattle of the inhabitants and barrellled them up, and sent them to Boston and sold them for plunder, and made money to put into his own pocket; and that the owners of them being poor people begged for the hides and tallow with tears in their eyes, and that he was so cruel as to deny them!' He continues, 'as for what I am accused of, you all can witness to the contrary; and I should take it very kindly from you to do me that just right, as to vindicate my reputation; for the wise man says "a good name is as precious ointment."' He also addressed a letter to Major Pike, the agent of Massachusetts, in which, speaking of the withdrawal of the troops from the eastward, he says, 'I admire at it, considering they had so low esteem of what was done, that they can apprehend the eastward parts so safe before the enemy were brought into better subjection. I was in hopes, when I came from thence, that those who were so desirous to have my room would have been very brisk in my absence, to have gotten themselves some honor, which they very much gaped after, or else they would not have spread so many false reports to defame me, which, had I have known before I left the bank, I would have had satisfaction of them. Your honor was pleased to give me some small account, before I left the bank, of some things that were ill represented to you, concerning the eastward expedition, which being rolled home like a snow-ball through both colonies, were got to such a bigness that it overshadowed me from the influence of all comfort or good acceptance among my friends in my journey homeward. But through God's goodness I am come home, finding all well and myself in good health, hoping that these reports will do me the favor to quit me from all other public actions; that so I may the more peaceably and quietly wait

upon God, and be a comfort to my own family in this dark time of trouble ; being as one hid till his indignation is overpast.

In this manner was the reputation of this generous and gallant soldier destroyed, and the fame acquired by numberless heroic acts in desperate battles, by endless toils and devoted service, was blasted by cowardly and malicious calumniators, who, like the vile caterpillar, fed on the greenest leaves, and blighted the fairest fruits, and though their falsehoods were disclosed, and the fame of their victim soon cleared of its clouds, yet his spirit was deeply wounded, and he cherished so much bitterness of resentment, that when he received an application from the people of Portsmouth, as early as the 29th of June, 1691, again to take the command at the eastward, he refused to go. The application was couched in the following terms :

‘ Major Benjamin Church, sir,

‘ Your former readiness to expose yourself in the service of the country against the common enemy, and particularly the late obligations you have laid upon us, in these eastern parts, leaves us under a deep and grateful sense for your fervor therein. And forasmuch as you were pleased when last here, to signify your ready inclination for further service of this kind, if occasion should call for it : we therefore presume confidently to promise ourselves compliance accordingly ; and have sent this messenger on purpose to you, to let you know, that notwithstanding the late overture of peace, the enemy have proved themselves as perfidious as ever, and are almost daily killing and destroying, upon all our frontiers. The governor and council of Massachusetts have been pleased to order the raising of one hundred and fifty men, to be forthwith despatched unto those parts ; and as we understand, have written to your governor and council of Plymouth, for

further assistance, which we pray you to promote, hoping if you can obtain about two hundred men, English and Indians, to visit them at some of their head-quarters up Kennebec river, or elsewhere, which for want of necessaries was omitted last year, it may be of great advantage to us. We offer nothing of advice as to what methods are most proper to be taken in this affair; your acquaintance with our circumstances, as well as the enemy's, will direct you therein. We leave the conduct thereof to your own discretion; but that the want of provision, &c, may be no *remora* to your motion, you may please to know Mr Geafford, one of our principal inhabitants, now residing in Boston, hath promised to take care to supply, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, if occasion may require, &c.' This was signed by William Vaughan, Richard Martyn, Nathaniel Fryez, William Fernald, Francis Hooke, Charles Frost, John Wincol, Robert Elliott.

Church was not vindictive, and his resentment subsiding, he was prevailed upon by Sir William Phipps, then governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay, under the new charter, to undertake another expedition to the eastward in 1692, as commander-in-chief of the provincial forces. His last expedition terminated all his engagements with Plymouth, as that colony was now a part of Massachusetts.

He went again in 1696, as commander-in-chief of the forces of Massachusetts.

In 1703, he was commissioned by Governor Dudley, as colonel and commander-in-chief of his fifth and last expedition to the eastward.

The history of the three last expeditions belongs to Massachusetts, but these successive appointments to this high command, shews that Church had overcome the slanders with which his character had been assailed, and was

restored completely to the confidence of the people and the government.*

* Although this distinguished warrior did not die until 1718, yet his history belongs to Plymouth, for his greatest actions were achieved in the service of that colony.

Colonel Benjamin Church was born at Duxbury, in 1639. He was the son of Richard Church, who is named, October, 1630, as one who desired to be a free-man of Massachusetts, and who probably came over in the fleet with Governor Winthrop; he soon after removed to Duxbury, of which ancient town he was one of the earliest settlers. Richard Church had three sons and one daughter. His son Caleb settled at Watertown, in Massachusetts, and Benjamin and Joseph and their sister, Mrs Irish, at Saconet, afterwards Little Compton. Sarah Burroughs, wife of James Burroughs, another sister, was settled at Bristol.

Colonel Church was educated to a mechanical employment. He married Alice Southworth, daughter of Constant Southworth, and grand-daughter of the distinguished wife of Gov. Bradford, whose name she bore. Mrs Bradford was the sister of the Rev. John Rayner. His enterprising spirit induced him to settle amongst the Saconet Indians, and he commenced the clearing of his farm, before the breaking out of the Indian war, and removed from Duxbury to Saconet, in 1674. A residence of a year, gave him an opportunity to study the character and dispositions of the Indians, and to acquire a thorough knowledge of their wild and simple habits. His peculiar temperament, his activity, his constant cheerfulness and constitutional vivacity, as well as his determined courage, gave him a decided and commanding influence over this rude race, and of all the English who bore commands during the great war, none was so much feared, so much respected, and finally so much beloved by them, as this terrible and triumphant enemy.

In conducting such wars he was unrivalled, and although many have acquired much reputation for their skill in managing and fighting Indians, none have exhibited a genius or an aptitude equal to Church.

Sir William Johnson, Anthony Wayne, and Gen. Jackson, have received their full share of fame, for their skill, and their knowledge in directing the operations of this, the most dangerous and dreadful of all the modes of war, but they were never placed in such perils and difficulties as were encountered and overcome by Church.

The capture of Annawon, for audacious and calculating intrepidity, is unmatched in the history of partisan warfare, and exhibits a sagacity which could estimate and measure the force of moral power when operating on physical force with unerring precision, and could truly judge how far the prospect of success could justify the undertaking of an enterprise of apparent desperation with most inadequate means, and finishing a mighty war after a triumphant train of fights like a Knight of Romance, by the solitary and unaided efforts of one wonder-working arm.

At the meeting of the Court in 1689, the magistrates dwelling in the several counties were required to meet at

An account has already been given in the body of this history, of the two first expeditions to the east which were commanded by Church.

After the junction of the two colonies in 1692, Major Walley was employed by Sir William Phipps, the provincial governor, to treat with Major Church about taking the command under him (the governor) of another expedition against the eastern French and Indians, and Walley held out as an inducement, the prospect of remuneration not only for the expedition then contemplated, but also for former services.

The terms were soon arranged, and Church was instructed to raise volunteers, both English and Indians, in the county of Bristol. Always successful in recruiting, he soon raised the required number.

This expedition under the nominal command of Sir William Phipps, but really commanded by Church, after stopping at Casco, proceeded to Pemaquid, where it was the intention of the governor to erect a fort. Church had no confidence in the policy, which proposed to restrain Indians in a wilderness by the guns of a fort, and when solicited by Sir William, declined to give any advice on that subject, merely saying that 'his genius did not incline that way, for he never had any value for them (forts), being only nests for destruction.' The governor remained to superintend the erection of the fort, and Church taking all the forces but two companies, proceeded to Penobscot, but could not bring the enemy to battle as they dispersed into the woods, but in pursuance of his orders, he laid waste their fields of corn, and acquired considerable plunder in furs. He then returned to Pemaquid, and the governor embarked for Boston, leaving Church in command with orders to attack the enemy on Kennebec river, and to ravage the country. He defeated the enemy after a sharp encounter, who after setting fire to their buildings, dispersed into the woods.

After his return to Pemaquid, the governor arrived and took the command, and Church and his volunteers embarked for Boston. The General Court under a sudden impulse of generous feeling, ordered that he should be paid his regular wages while on this service !

In 1696, Major Church was the representative of the town of Bristol in the General Court of Massachusetts ; and while there, he was importuned with zealous persuasions to take the command of another expedition to the east. The Court authorized him to raise volunteers for this service. For this purpose he explored the whole province, and Connecticut also, and completing his complement of men in a month, marched them to Boston.

On the 27th of May, he received his commission from Lt. Governor Stoughton then commander-in-chief, with general instructions.

The expedition sailed, and after touching at York, where no enemy was found, rendezvoused at Monhiggon, with a view to assail the enemy on the Penobscot,

their several county towns upon the first Wednesday in September, 'where the several towns are to take care that

which was its first destination. Both sides of that river were ranged by the troops, but no enemy was found. At Senectaca some slight advantages were obtained, but the enemy fled beyond reach. The expedition then proceeded to St John's river, and a party of the English soldiers were fired upon by a party of French, but their fire was so warmly returned that they fled and dispersed themselves into the woods. Twelve cannon and some warlike stores that had been concealed were captured. As the enemy had disappeared from St John's, Church resolved to send all the soldiers home who were unwilling to stay, and to remain with the others for the purpose of attacking the enemy's force on the Penobscot.

While the fleet was on the way to Penobscot, it was intercepted by the Province Galley with Col. Hathorne on board, who was sent by Lt. Governor Stoughton to supersede Church, whose feelings were outraged by an order from the Governor to serve under Hathorne!

Col. Hathorne, against the advice of Church, attempted some enterprises which were unsuccessful, and the expedition then returned to Boston.

The General Court of Massachusetts magnanimously seized the cannon and stores which Church had captured, and refused any remuneration, and voted that Church and his soldiers should have but half pay! But even Governor Stoughton was disgusted at this extreme of illiberality, and went in person to the Province House and remonstrated so earnestly with the members, that they were induced to vote bare wages, but nothing to Church for his time, trouble, and expense in raising the men!

Notwithstanding the pitiful conduct of the government of Massachusetts in their dealings with Church, so ardent was the patriotism of this gallant warrior under the stimulus of excited feelings at hearing the account of the horrible barbarities of the Indians on the frontiers, that early in 1704, he rode on horseback seventy miles to seek an interview with Governor Dudley, and offered his services 'to the Queen, and his Excellency, and the country,' to lead another expedition to the eastward.

He submitted his project in writing to the governor and it was approved, he was appointed to command the expedition with the rank of Colonel.

Twelve hundred men, including three hundred Indians, were to be raised, and whale boats, Indian shoes, &c. were to be prepared. On the 18th of March 1703-4, he received his commission. Lt. Col. John Gorham was to command the whale boats. He soon succeeded in enlisting a large body of men, chiefly in the county of Bristol. John Brown, Constant Church, James Cole, John Dyer, John Cook, Caleb Williamson, and Edward Church, were commissioned as captains. Two other companies were raised by the governor, and placed under the command of Captains Lamb and Mirick. Cyprian Southack com-

their constables and grand jurors be warned to appear, to be then approved and sworn,' at which time the magis-

manded the fleet. Church urged upon the Court the necessity of holding out inducements to the monied men of the Province to advance such funds as the treasury might be unable to furnish, but with poor success. It was a favorite part of the project to attack Port Royal, but the permission was absolutely denied by the governor. There was a current suspicion that the reluctance of the governor was occasioned by his apprehension of losing the profits of an illegal traffic which was carried on with that port, in which it was reported that he participated; but the governor alleged that it was in consequence of his instructions from the English government.

The instructions of the governor to Church were general, and nothing was enjoined excepting that the country on the Penobscot should be despoiled. This was done and many prisoners were taken.

An expedition in whale boats, was then sent round to Passamaquoddy, who succeeded in despoiling the country there and in taking many captives, but most of the Indians as usual disappeared. There was a smart skirmish near Menis in Nova Scotia, in which the English were successful.

A council of war was called to consider the propriety of attacking Port Royal, but this proposition was unanimously negatived. Church then went to Signecto and landed his men in the face of the enemy, who after some resistance fled into the woods, which were ranged by the soldiers without success, and the expedition after visiting Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Casco Bay, returned to Boston.

There was an attempt made, after the return of Church, in the General Court to bring him to trial for his life before a court-martial, for killing some Frenchmen on the expedition!

He received £15 for raising the volunteers, 2s. 4d. for the balance of his pay as a colonel, and the thanks of the General Court!

This expedition terminated the military career of this famous warrior at the age of sixtyfive, and the remainder of his life was passed in peaceful pursuits.

Although Church was never defeated or even repulsed in any of his eastern expeditions, yet, as his exploits were not so imposing and brilliant as those by which he acquired so much glory in Philip's war, his reputation seemed to sink when he became entrusted with high command; but justice was not done to his services.

The settlements in Maine were few and far apart, scattered along a wide extent of coast and in no case extending into the interior of the country. When attacked, the enemy retreated and scattered as they fled into small parties. In the rear of the settlements was a continuous forest extending northerly three hundred miles to the St Lawrence, which was occupied in force by the French.

trates were authorized to settle such officers as are proper for the counties, and to swear them, 'and may there grant administrations, and take the probate of wills.'

The range of sachem Philip was limited to the country between the ocean and Connecticut river; he could not fly in any direction more than forty or fifty miles from strong English settlements. He dared not to establish himself in the country west of the Connecticut river, for there he was liable to be attacked by his unrelenting enemies the Mohawks, who, as they never spared his race, he dreaded more than he did the English. Strong settlements were on Connecticut river, and stronger on the Atlantic, and garrisoned houses were scattered through the intervening country, so that it was next to impossible for him to escape beyond the reach of the English. But in the east the enemy fled before Church. They gave him no opportunity to fight, and such was the nature of the country that he could not pursue them with any prospect of success:—it would indeed have been a wild and rash undertaking to pursue flying and scattering enemies through a forest boundless in extent, and abounding in places of concealment familiar to them, but unknown to the English.

The boldest warriors have frequently felt the strongest impulses of religion. This feeling and an ardent passion for glory,—a burning desire to encounter the most terrible perils of the field, and to take the chances of that high game 'for fame and life,' in which elevated minds delight, have often dwelt together in the same bosom; not planted there to counteract and to balance each other, and to keep down the aspirations of nature to the level of mediocrity, but to strengthen the devotion of the warrior, and to nerve the arm of the military saint with tenfold vigor for the fight; implanting in the hearts of such, the deepest conviction that heaven has selected them as special instruments for the performance of mighty works, and has thrown over them its shield of protection.

The whole life of Church displays the traces of such feelings and such thoughts:—feelings too deep to be disturbed by doubts, enduring to the last, expressed in the strongest language of self-conviction long after his battles were over, and shortly before his death, when age had tamed the passions, chilled the ardor of ambition, dissipated the pleasant and bright delusions of fancy, and given to sober realities the places once occupied by splendid visions.

In the preface to the narrative written by his son under his inspection, he addresses the reader personally: 'With my commission (says he) I received another heart, inclining me to put forth my strength in military service; and through the grace of God I was spirited for that work, and direction in it was renewed to me day by day. And although many of the actions that I was concerned in were very difficult and dangerous, yet myself, and those who went with me voluntarily in the service, had our lives for the most part wonderfully preserved by the overruling hand of the Almighty, from first to last, which doth aloud bespeak our praises; and to declare his wonderful works is our in-

Innkeepers and retailers of liquors were required 'to appear and renew their licenses, and after that time not to presume to sell unless the licenses are renewed;' and by a law in October, informers against unlicensed persons were to be entitled to half the fine.

dispensable duty. I was ever very sensible of my own littleness and unfitness to be employed in such great services; but calling to mind that God is strong, I endeavored to put all my confidence in him, and by his almighty power was carried through every difficult action; and my desire is that his name may have the praise.

'It was ever my intent, having laid myself under a solemn promise, that the many and repeated favors of God to myself, and those with me in the service, might be published for generations to come. And now my great age requiring my dismissal from service in the militia, and to put off my armor, I am willing that the great and glorious works of Almighty God, to us children of men, should appear to the world.'

The services of Church were only sought in the gloomiest and saddest hours of despondency and panic; at such periods, men called on him with loud voices. Open, honest, frank, and sincere, in calmer times, his bearing was too blunt, 'his presence too bold and peremptory,' his indignation at wrong, his hatred of falsehood, and his love of truth, too great to render him acceptable to the civil dignitaries. His reproofs, they were always unwilling to hear, and often unable to answer. Real merit and real greatness, he always respected, but he was no parasite of the mean and the base in exalted stations. He would not believe that the stamp alone could transmute a base into a precious metal.

When the pledged faith of the government was basely violated, and the English name subjected to the imputation of dishonor and falsehood, Church had no soft and convenient epithets to bestow on so base a policy. He could not imagine any posture of circumstances which should bring the necessities of the state in conflict with honorable principles, and the moral code. With him the laws of right and wrong were immutable. With him a promise was an oath, and a simple word, if it conveyed an assurance of favor, was as sacred as though it had been sworn at the altar, upon the bones of the saints. His was a character for many to hate, and when a favorable opportunity was presented, every ass in the community brayed forth his calumnies against the absent lion. The public mind was poisoned with slanders, and this heroic man who had wrought such mighty deeds for New England, was permitted at one time to wander through the streets of Boston with empty pockets and tattered clothes, relying on charity for a place to lay his head, and refused a paltry loan to enable him to return to his family, every eye scowling with malice, every tongue loaded with abuse, and amongst the most generous population of North America, the necessities of this illustrious man found no relief, his sufferings no pity.

The magistrates of the county of Bristol were 'disabled from attending the county meeting in September.' They

Years after his death, the General Court of Massachusetts became ashamed of their ingratitude and injustice, and rendered his memory a posthumous act of justice, by granting to his heirs five hundred acres, out of any of the unappropriated lands of the province.*

He accepted civil office, and served both in legislative and judicial capacities, having been a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts, and one of the first judges of the Court of Common Pleas, in the county of Bristol.

The narrative of his acts compiled under his inspection, from his notes and memoranda, by his son, was given to the world in 1716, during his lifetime. In his own address to the reader, he asks for indulgence; 'Seeing (says he) every particle of historical truth is precious, I hope the reader will pass a favorable censure upon an old soldier, telling of the many rencounters he has had, and yet is come off alive. It is a pleasure to remember what a great number of families, in this and the neighboring provinces of New England, did, during the war, enjoy a great measure of liberty and peace, by the hazardous stations and marches of those engaged in military exercises, who were a wall unto them on this side, and on that side.'

It has already been related that Colonel Church removed from Duxbury to Saconet in 1674. At the commencement of the Indian war, he removed his family to Rhode Island. After the purchase of the Mount Hope lands in 1680, he removed there, and became one of the early settlers and founders of the town of Bristol. He afterwards removed to Fall River, of which celebrated stream he was once the owner. Finally, he returned to Little Compton.

His only surviving sister, Mrs Irish, having lost her only child, he paid her a visit of condolence; on his return, his horse faltered, and threw him on the ground with such force, that a blood vessel was ruptured, and he died in a short time, at the age of seventy-eight; this happened on the 17th of January, 1718. He was buried with military honors in Little Compton, the town which he founded. His wife survived him.

Colonel Church had five sons and two daughters, namely: Thomas Church, Esq., who lived at Saconet, and sustained through life a fair and honorable reputation. He was frequently a representative from Little Compton, in the General Court of Massachusetts. He died at his residence in 1746.

Constant Church inherited much of the military spirit of his father, and served under him as a captain in his eastern expeditions.

Benjamin died a bachelor.

Edward Church was also a captain under his father, in his last expedition against the eastern Indians.

* The lands were laid out June 13th, 1734, in the gore between Rehoboth and Dighton.

were authorized to meet again in October. The magistrates were empowered to take special care that the late

Charles Church, Esq., an active and enterprising gentleman, lived at Bristol, where he died. He was for some years sheriff of the old county of Bristol; one of his daughters married Colonel — Jarvis, the father of the celebrated orator and physician, Charles Jarvis, and the late Leonard Jarvis. His daughter Martha died single; his other daughter was Elizabeth Sampson, wife of John Sampson.

Thomas Church, the eldest son of the warrior, left children. One of whom was the late Hon. Thomas Church, one of the assistants in the government of Rhode Island, and colonel of one of the Rhode Island regiments, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war. He was born at Little Compton; in the latter years of his life, he removed to Dighton in Massachusetts, of which town he was a representative in the General Court; he died there.

One of his daughters married the Hon. Sylvester Brownell of Westport, Massachusetts, and is the mother of the Right Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, bishop of Connecticut.

Edward Church, the son of the warrior, left only two children, namely, Deacon Benjamin Church of Boston and Abigail Wanton, wife of George Wanton, of Newport.

Deacon Church was the father of the celebrated Benjamin Church, born in Boston, in 1739, who was equally distinguished as a scholar, physician, poet, and politician. He was in the very front rank of the band of the earlier patriots of the Revolution, and was unquestionably the best political writer and poet of the day. He was as prominent, as active, and as popular as Warren, Hancock, or Samuel Adams. At the commencement of the Revolution, he was appointed surgeon-general of the army; but a blight came over all his prospects; he was accused of a treacherous correspondence with the British authorities in Boston, and although it was extremely doubtful whether his intentions were evil, yet the presumptions were so strong, that justly or unjustly, he became their victim. He was deprived of his office, but permitted in 1776, to go to the West Indies; the vessel in which he embarked was supposed to have foundered at sea, as she was never heard of, and thus perished one of the brightest and most enterprising of those men of genius, who produced the American Revolution. His most important productions were a political satire in verse, entitled 'The Times,' written at the period of the stamp act; an oration on the massacre of the 5th of March, and a series of political essays, entitled 'The Censor.' He also wrote elegies on the deaths of Dr Mayhew, and the celebrated Whitfield, and many other productions of less notoriety. He was *no* less celebrated in his profession of physician, than as a politician.

Edward Church, a brother of the last, and a great-grandson of the warrior,

condemned prisoner at Bristol be secured till further order.

The style of their majesties' court was first used at a session of the General Court in December, 1689.

In the same month the Court passed another order respecting taxes. The treasurer or other magistrate, or such as were constables in 1686, were required to gather all the rates of delinquents, and on their refusal or neglect to pay the constable, he with 'the assistance of the present constable was authorized to make distress.' And the like order was passed 'for what is due the towns and counties respectively on town and county rates.'*

was not less distinguished for poetical talent than his distinguished brother. His poem entitled 'The Dangerous Vice, ****' discovers high powers of satire, but is marked with bitter and vindictive personalities; it was principally aimed at the vice-president, John Adams. Edward Church was afterwards appointed consul for the United States at Lisbon.

Amongst the eminent men of early times, there is scarcely one whose descendants have been distinguished for such a variety of talent as those of this celebrated partisan warrior.

* The valuation of property by an order of October 2d, 1689, was directed to be as follows,:

Every ox at	£2 10 00	Every yearling colt	10 00
" Cow	1 00 10	" Yearling swine and up-	6 00
" Heifer and three-year		wards	9 00
old steer	1 10 00	Sheep a year old and up-	
" Two-year old	1 00 00	wards, by the score	5 00 00
" Yearling	15 00	Land in tillage every acre	5 00
" Horse and mare	2 00 00	Meadow and English pasture	
" Two-year old colt	1 00 00	every acre	5 00

Vessels and trading estate not more than half price.

Faculties and personal abilities at will and doom.

The like where any refuse or neglect to give in a just account of their rateable estate.

Any person concealing, refusing, or neglecting to give in any part, on conviction, to pay triple. One third to the colony, one third to the informer, and one third to the town. The list of rateable estate in each town to be presented to the General Court.

Governor Hinckley and Deputy Governor Bradford were reelected ; John Freeman, Daniel Smith, Barnabas Lothrop, John Thacher, John Walley, and John Cushing, were reelected assistants. The deputies from Plymouth, Scituate, Middleborough, and Falmouth were reelected. In Duxbury John Wadsworth and David Alden were elected ; in Sandwich, Stephen Skiff and Shearjashub Bourne ; in Taunton, Thomas Leonard and William Harvey ; in Rehoboth, Gilbert Brooks and Christopher Saunders ; in Barnstable, John Goram and Joseph Lathrop ; in Yarmouth, John Miller and Silas Sears ; in Marshfield, Isaac Little and Nathaniel Thomas ; in Eastham, Jonathan Sparrow and Thomas Paine ; in Bridgewater, William Brett ; in Dartmouth, Seth Pope ; in Bristol, Stephen Burton and Jabez Howland ; in Little Compton, Joseph Church ; in Freetown, Samuel Gardiner ; in Swansey, Lieutenant James Cole and Thomas Wood ; in Rochester, Aaron Barlow.

At a General Court November, 1690-91, the following order was passed.

‘Whereas there was complaint made that some of the warrants that went out for calling the two last General Courts did not come seasonably to some of the towns, by reason whereof divers of the magistrates and deputies had not timely notice to attend said Courts, and forasmuch as at said Courts it was agreed that for defraying the debts of the colony there should be raised the sum of £27,000 in such proportions and specie as by record of said courts may appear, making such allowance to some particular towns as was to make good former orders of this court. There being now a General Court assembled and legally warned : it is now agreed and ordered by this Court that the said sum of £27,000 be raised forthwith.’

The enormous sum which was to be raised by taxes in this little community was the source of much difficulty, uneasiness, and distress ; some of the towns were refractory, and some dissatisfied with 'the raters' who were to assess the tax in the several towns, and they impeded its collection. These circumstances produced this order from the Court.

'Whereas several of the towns have neglected to choose raters, or several disputes and differences have happened by reason of the choice, (in particular the towns of Scituate, Bristol, Swansea, Little Compton, Dartmouth, Rochester,) or any other towns, that have neglected the same.' It was therefore ordered that the constable forthwith warn the inhabitants of those towns to meet and choose their raters for each town. The raters were required forthwith to make the rates under penalty, according to the proportions ordered by the court, and to deliver the same to the constables of the respective towns, who were required to collect forthwith, and if necessary make distress and imprison. 'Towns neglecting to choose raters fourteen days, or raters chosen refusing to serve, other raters were to be appointed by any two county magistrates, and to proceed in the same mode.'

The colony of Plymouth was originally a government *de facto*, but its long exercise of sovereign authority as an independent people had in the view of all who were not blinded or bewildered with technicalities, and the efficacy of a royal seal, rendered it a government *de jure*, and as such it had been treated by Charles II, one of the most despotic of the English kings.

Yet the people were always anxious to obtain the royal sanction to their charter, and had often been flattered with assurances that it should be granted. King Charles II. granted charters both to Connecticut and Rhode

Island, but Plymouth, either through want of friends or the want of means, had always been passed over, although this colony could not have been more obnoxious to the king than the others.

General James Cudworth went over as the colony agent in 1682, and died in London of the small-pox soon after his arrival, and before he had any opportunity to take the measures necessary for his success.

The Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, the minister of Duxbury went to England in company with Cook and Oakes the agents of Massachusetts for procuring the confirmation of the ancient charter of that colony; soon after his departure he was chosen an agent by Plymouth to obtain the confirmation of theirs; subsequently Increase Mather and Sir Henry Ashurst were appointed to act conjointly with him.

Mather had fled from Massachusetts in disguise during the administration of Andros, and embarked for England in order to lay the complaints of Massachusetts at the foot of the throne. He disliked Elisha Cook, who obstinately refused to receive on the part of that colony any charter but the old one, and dared to say in the royal presence, 'the old charter or none,' and he well knew that Cook and Wiswall were closely united in political opinions, and by personal attachment. Perhaps to Mather's determination to thwart Cook may be attributed some mysterious circumstances which appeared in his conduct as the agent of Plymouth. He had acquired much favor both with the king and queen (William and Mary,) but it is by no means certain that he used his interest for the benefit of his employers.

A charter was obtained for Massachusetts, in which Plymouth was included. Cotton Mather in a letter to Governor Hinckley, communicating the information which

he had received from his father concerning the transactions at London touching the affairs of New England, says, 'our friends at Whitehall assured him (Dr Mather,) that if he had petitioned for a charter to be bestowed on Plymouth by itself, there had been none obtained for you, nor for us neither; wherefore he procured Plymouth to be inserted in our grant.' He says moreover that Governor Slaughter of New York, had Plymouth inserted in his commission, 'but partly through my father's industry and discretion he procured the dropping of it.'

The influence of Dr Mather it would seem was exerted not to obtain a charter for Plymouth, but to prevent its annexation to New York!

Mr Wiswall strenuously resisted the attempt to include Plymouth in the charter of Massachusetts, and told Dr Mather, in the presence of the solicitor general, that the colony 'would curse him for it,' and thereupon Plymouth was stricken out of the Massachusetts charter by the solicitor's own hand. 'So, (says Cotton Mather,) you are now again like to be annexed to the government of New York, and if you find yourselves thereby plunged into manifold miseries, you have none to thank for it but one of your own.'

Wiswall, suspicious of the sincerity of Dr Mather, was indignant at his conduct. Not the least inclination was manifested by the people of the colony to unite with Massachusetts; on the contrary, great repugnance was felt and expressed at such a junction, and so great was the alarm lest it should be effected, that Mr Cotton the minister of Plymouth urged Governor Hinckley to repair to England himself, 'and to use his best efforts to prevent the meditated arrangement;' assuring the governor, 'that this was the opinion of many men of wisdom, prudence and piety with whom he had consulted,' and he expresses

his belief that the governor was the only person to be trusted with the agency, and also his great confidence in the ability and inclination of the colony to raise the necessary funds.

On the 11th of February, 1691, the General Court passed the following order. 'The General Court having information from England that the colony of Plymouth had been joyned to the government of New York, but the same was prevented by the Rev. Mr Mather, who gave an account to Governor Slaughter how little service it would be to his majesty, and how great dissatisfaction and how great inconvenience it would be to the people, we are also informed that after, we were like to be annexed to Boston, but the same hindered by Mr Wiswall for the present; being also informed that there is a possibility that we may obtain a charter for ourselves if we speedily address his majesty, and employ a suitable person to manage and raise sufficient money to carry the same on end. This Court thinking it their duty to inform the several inhabitants of the several towns of this colony thereof, that they may not hereafter say they had not notice, and that they might make use of the present opportunity, as they may see it is like to be for their benefit.

'It is therefore ordered that the magistrates or deputies in each town forthwith order the constable to warn the inhabitants to assemble and give notice to them of the occasion, and they have the information abovementioned, that they may consider thereof, and draw up their minds therein, and that it be signified at the adjournment of this Court, and in particular that it be known whether it be their minds that we should sit still and fall into the hands of those that can catch us, without using means to procure that which may be for our good, or to prevent that which may be to our inconvenience, or if they would act,

then to know what instruments they would improve, and what money they can forthwith raise, and must also know that if a patent can be procured it will not take up less than £500 sterling, which will take up near £700 of our money.' The debts of the colony amounted at this time to £27,000 and the Court had voted a tax for reimbursement; the pecuniary distresses of the people were great; angry dissensions distracted the colony, violent parties had been formed; some refused to pay taxes, particularly those for the support of the ministers; the people were suspicious and irritable; the authority of the government was not only doubted but denied by those who disliked their proceedings.

In this state it was not wonderful that a sum sufficient to obtain the charter could not be raised. Some of the towns subscribed their proportion on condition that other towns should do the same; but some refusing, the whole subscription failed.

The Court however voted thanks to Sir Henry Ashurst, the Rev. Mr Mather, and the Rev. Mr Wiswall; to Sir Henry a grant of fifty guineas, and to Mr Mather and Mr Wiswall twentyfive guineas each.

'Sir Henry Ashurst was appointed sole agent, but was requested to advise with Mr Mather and Mr Wiswall.'

Mr Mather was informed by Governor Hinckley of the unsuccessful effort to obtain the necessary funds to forward the suit, and concludes one of his letters in the following desponding tone. 'Not being in a capacity to make rates for any equal defraying the charge, I see little or no likelihood of obtaining a charter for us, unless their majesties, out of their royal bounty and clemency, graciously please to grant it, *sub forma pauperis*, to their poor and loyal subjects of this colony.'

The people of Dartmouth and Little Compton resisted the payment of taxes, and were upheld in their resistance by Governor Slaughter.

But the fate of the colony was now decided. The charter of Massachusetts was signed October 7, 1691, and Plymouth was annexed to that aspiring, enterprising, and ambitious colony.

Wiswall deeply regretted and resented this measure. In a letter to Governor Hinckley, after the affair had terminated, he says :

‘ All the frame of heaven moves on one axis, and the whole of New England’s interest seems designed to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motions to concentrate to the Massachusetts tropic. You know who are wont to trot after the bay-horse ; your distance is your advantage, by which you may observe their motions. Yet let me mind you of that great statesman, Ecclesiastes viii, 14. Few wise men rejoice at their chains. I do believe Plymouth’s silence, Hampshire’s neglect, and the rashness and impudence of one at least, who went from New England in disguise by night, hath not a little contributed to our general disappointment.’

Mr Wiswall hesitated not to charge the loss of the charter to the management of Mather, his duplicity and insincerity. That his efforts in behalf of Plymouth were faint and inefficient cannot be doubted, yet he discovered much energy, firmness and address in preventing its annexation to New York, and in effecting its junction with Massachusetts. Although the measure was beneficial to Massachusetts, and certainly not eventually injurious to Plymouth, yet there can be no justification for Mather, if he deserted the cause which he had stipulated to maintain.

The last court of election was holden at Plymouth in June, 1691. Mr Hinckley was again elected governor,*

* Governor Hinckley died in 1706, at the age of eightyeight, according to one account, and according to another, of the age of seventythree. If the first be correct, he must have been born before the settlement of Plymouth. He outlived its political existence fourteen years,

The father of Governor Hinckley, Samuel Hinckley, was a freeman of the colony in 1637, and was one of those who went from Scituate to Barnstable with Mr Lothrop, in 1639.

In 1645, Thomas Hinckley was first elected a deputy to the General Court from Barnstable; this would seem to corroborate the first statement of his age, for if he was eightyeight at the time of his death, he was only twenty-seven at that time, and it is not probable that he would have been selected for such an office at an earlier age. In 1648, he was again elected, and at several other elections; and in 1658, when Mr Cudworth and Mr Hatherly were rejected for their tolerating principles, Mr Hinckley was elected an assistant, and was continued in that office by successive elections nearly all, if not the whole time from then, to 1681, when on the death of Josias Winslow, he was elected governor, in which office (except during the usurpation of Andros, when he was a counsellor) he was continued until Plymouth was annexed to Massachusetts in 1692, and was one of the counsellors of the province of Massachusetts Bay, under the new charter.

Governor Hinckley for his second wife, married Mary, the daughter of John Smith of Dedham, and the widow of Nathaniel Glover, a lady distinguished for many accomplishments, great beauty, and for the imposing dignity of her manners. By her he was the father of one son, Ebenezer, and five daughters, one of whom married Samuel Prince of Sandwich, who was the father of the Rev. Thomas Prince, minister of the Old South Church in Boston, an eminent scholar and antiquary. Dr Prince left an only child, a daughter, who married the late Lieut. Governor Gill, and died without issue.

When Mr Hinckley assumed the government of Plymouth, the principles of the people both of that colony and of Massachusetts, had undergone a great change, the ardor of devotion had been chilled, and their strong attachment to the interests of religion, had been deadened by a more ardent interest, in political and governmental affairs; a more tolerant spirit had been introduced in practice, and the character of the people became more flexible, (both to evil and to good,) than that of their stern and unyielding fathers; yet if the tempers of the first were ameliorated, they fell in a measure from the unsullied purity, piety, and patriotism of the last. The governor did not escape the influences of the times; his predecessors would have suffered martyrdom for the cause which their consciences approved had the dread alternative been presented, but he was a politician, and yielded to circumstances. When he consented to act as a counsellor to the infamous

William Bradford* deputy governor, and John Freeman,

Andros, he fell from his elevation, and the brightness of his character was dimmed. His subsequent excuse that he only consented to take office in the hope that he might mitigate the severe temper of the governor-general, and prevent the rash and oppressive measures which were apprehended, is no justification, for it is always a dangerous experiment to mingle in the councils of bad men, even for the sake of doing good, as it seems (at least) to give the sanction of irreproachable characters to the measures of persons who disregard the public good, and are 'fatally bent' on evil. When the government of any country is thrown into such hands, it is the wisest and best policy to retire to that station which then emphatically becomes the 'post of honor.' It is true that Governor Hinckley went far to redeem his character eventually, by his manly resistance to the tyranny of Andros, but it would have been better both for his own reputation and the public good, had he never consented by acting as his counsellor, to have swelled the vanity of a petty despot, and to have lent for a time the sanction of his high character to lessen the odium of measures which soon became intolerable. His conduct also exhibits another questionable trait. It is by no means certain that while he was apparently sincere and zealous in his efforts to obtain a charter for Plymouth, (so much so, that Mr Cotton, the minister of Plymouth was induced to urge him in the strongest terms to undertake the agency,) that he was not secretly undermining his own measures; and his letter to Mr Mather, in which he says, 'that it would be well pleasing to himself and sundry others of the most thinking men, who were desirous of supporting the ministry and schools of learning, to be annexed to Massachusetts,' seems to furnish presumptive evidence of an imposing character, that such was the fact. It certainly would have been no impeachment either of his wisdom or integrity, had he openly advocated the union with Massachusetts; but if he indirectly supported a measure which he apparently opposed, although he might find a justification in his own mind on the ground that the measure was intrinsically good, although unpopular and odious, yet it exhibits a duplicity which could not spring from a pure and well regulated mind.

For his zeal in supporting the literary and religious institutions of the colony, and in resisting the vandal spirit which was beginning to appear, and which would have withheld all support from both, he deserved the high praise which he received.

Acute and sagacious as he was in most things, there was one in which the thick darkness came over his spirit, and he mistook the path which led to that consecrated spot where the true oracles of God are delivered. The spirit of bigotry which prostrated Cudworth and Hatherly, elevated Hinckley, and its chains were too ponderous for him to break.

* The deputy-governor, William Bradford, died at his residence February 20th, 1703-4, aged seventy-nine, and was buried at his own request, by the side

Daniel Smith,* Barnabas Lothrop,† John Thacher,‡ John Walley,§ and John Cushing,|| assistants.

Samuel Sprague was rechosen secretary.

The deputies from the towns were as follows: from Plymouth, John Bradford, Isaac Cushman; Duxbury, John Wadsworth, Edward Southworth; Scituate, Benjamin Stetson, Samuel Clapp; Taunton, John Hall, John Hathaway; Sandwich, Thomas Tupper, Elisha Bourne; Barnstable, John Goram; Yarmouth, John Miller, Silas Sears; Marshfield, Isaac Little, Nathaniel Thomas; Eastham, Jonathan Sparrow, Thomas Paine, jun; Rehoboth, Christopher Saunders, (absent,) John Woodcock; Bridgewater, Josiah Edson; Middleborough, Isaac Howland; Bristol, John Saffin, (absent,) William Throope; Little Compton,

of his father. He left nine sons and three daughters. His son, John Bradford, was the first representative of Plymouth in 1692, to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay.

* Daniel Smith, a worthy, respectable, and opulent farmer, died at Rehoboth, in 1724.

† Barnabas Lothrop was a son of the Rev. John Lothrop, the first minister of Scituate and Barnstable. He was born in 1636, at Scituate; in 1658, he married Susanna Clark of Plymouth. He lived and died in Barnstable. His death was in 1715, when he was nearly eighty.

‡ John Thacher died at Yarmouth, May 8th, 1713, aged seventyfive. At the time of his death, he was a counsellor of Massachusetts.

§ Major Walley commanded the land forces in the disastrous expedition under Sir William Phipps, against Canada, in 1690. Of this expedition, he wrote a full account.

|| John Cushing was the son of Matthew Cushing, an early settler of Hingham, who arrived at Boston in 1638, the common ancestor of the numerous family of that name.

John Cushing became a resident of Scituate about the year 1662. His son, John Cushing, was a judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and his grandson, William Cushing, was the chief justice of that court; he was also one of the first justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1789, and was appointed chief justice of that court by President Washington, upon the resignation of Chief Justice Jay; this appointment he declined, but remained on the bench until his death in 1809.

Simon Rouse, (absent); Falmouth, Isaac Robinson; Rochester, Aaron Barlow, (absent); Monamoyet, Gershom Hall. None appeared from Dartmouth, Swansey, Little Compton, and Freetown.

By the new charter Plymouth was entitled to four counsellors. Those who were first selected were Thomas Hinckley, William Bradford, John Walley, and Barnabas Lothrop. Governor Hinckley had been charged with having secretly favored the union of Massachusetts and Plymouth, and it did appear somewhat suspicious that two out of the four charter counsellors should have been selected from Barnstable! or rather three, for Mr Walley was a native of Barnstable.

Slaughter, the governor of New York, having arrived there previous to the arrival of Sir William Phipps, with the new charter of Massachusetts, attempted to exercise his authority in the jurisdiction of Plymouth, and issued his orders as though it was a part of the province of New York, but the arrival of Phipps at Boston with the charter, on the 14th of May, 1692, occasioned their immediate suspension, and a court having been summoned by the new governor on the 8th of June following, the new province of Massachusetts Bay proceeded to exercise their charter authority without interruption. Plymouth submitted to her younger sister, and the amalgamation of the two colonies was soon perfected.

The last General Court however was summoned, and met at Plymouth on the first Tuesday of July; all the deputies who had appeared in June again assembled, excepting Mr Sears of Yarmouth and Mr Hall of Monamoyet. Simon Rouse appeared from Little Compton; the General Court of Plymouth exercised their power for the last time by appointing the last Wednesday of the follow-

ing August to be kept as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation.

There are no *data* from which a precise estimate of the population of this little colony at the time of its junction to Massachusetts can be made.

The colony was divided into three counties and twenty towns, (if the plantation at Monamoyet be considered a town,) namely, the county of Plymouth containing the towns of Plymouth, Duxbury, and Marshfield, which may be considered as the original towns, settled principally by the Leyden church; the members of that church were from Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire; Edward Winslow was from Droitwich, (Worcester,) and Standish from Lancashire; Scituate, which was settled under the patronage of the merchant adventurers of London, such as Mr Hatherly, Mr Thomas, &c. The population of that town was principally from the city of London and the county of Kent. Bridgewater was settled principally by a population from Duxbury, born in the colony, but amongst them several original emigrants. Middleborough was settled by the younger population of Plymouth.

The county of Bristol contained the town of Taunton; the settlers of Taunton with few exceptions were from Somersetshire and Devonshire, and many of them from the English Taunton; they made a temporary residence at Dorchester near Boston previous to the purchase of the lands of Cohannet. Rehoboth was settled by emigrants from Weymouth and Hingham in Massachusetts, originally from Hingham and Wymondham in the county of Norfolk, England. Dartmouth and Freetown were settled principally by the younger population of Plymouth, Marshfield, and Scituate; and Little Compton like Bridgewater

by the younger population of Duxbury. Swansey was settled by emigrants from Swansea in Wales, by some from Rehoboth, and a few from Plymouth and the neighboring towns. Boston the capital of Massachusetts was the parent of Bristol.

In the county of Barnstable, the town of Barnstable was settled by Mr Lothrop's church, who left Scituate after a short residence. The settlers of Sandwich and Yarmouth were principally from Lynn in Massachusetts; those of Eastham from Plymouth, those of Rochester from Plymouth, Marshfield, Duxbury, Scituate and Sandwich; those of Falmouth and the plantation of Monamoyet principally from the other towns on Cape Cod.

At the time of the Indian war the whole population of the colony was estimated at seven thousand five hundred. Since that period there had been but few accessions from abroad excepting the settlers of Bristol, and some individual adventurers not so numerous as to affect materially any general estimate. Fifteen years had elapsed since the termination of the war, and thirteen thousand is a very liberal estimate of its entire population; nearly forty years after, in 1730, the entire population of Rhode Island by actual enumeration was but seventeen thousand, nine hundred and thirtyfive.*

Congregational churches had been gathered in all the towns excepting Dartmouth, Swansey, and Freetown. In

* The estimate of the population of New England in 1640, in the first part of this work, is erroneous if Governor Hutchinson be correct, for he says that in ten years, which would bring the time to 1640, twenty thousand souls had arrived in Massachusetts from England; many it is true returned, but probably not many more than were born in New England during that period. Of the passengers in the May Flower, being in number one hundred and one, fiftyone died during the first year; of the remaining fifty, thirty were alive in 1650; in 1679, twelve; in 1694, two, and in 1698, the sole survivor was Mary Cushman, the daughter of Isaac Allerton.

Scituate two had been established, and in Swansey a Baptist church. No pastors however had been ordained in Middleborough, Little Compton or Falmouth, but were in each town soon after the junction of the colony to Massachusetts.

Schools had been established at Plymouth, Taunton, Rehoboth, and Duxbury.

In 1692, there was but little trade. The administration of Sir Edmund Andros had inflicted its blight on all New England; the spirit of enterprise was paralyzed, as long as men were conscious that property was insecure there was but little inducement to exertion; the fisheries were principally carried on in the waters adjacent to Cape Cod. Mount Hope, (now Bristol,) it is true was granted to its proprietors on condition that it should be made 'a town of trade,' and it formed an exception to the general condition of the colony, as it was thriving and prosperous.

The colony was deeply in debt. The whole personal property of individuals was but little more than enough to discharge the general debt which grew out of the great Indian war. It was however principally due within the colony itself. Such was the feebleness of their pecuniary sources, that £500 could not be raised to obtain a charter, and Governor Hinckley proposed that it should be prayed for *sub forma pauperis*.

The wealth of the colony was altogether in lands and buildings. Yet here were the elements and seeds of wealth which in the next century were developed, and which existed in favorable localities and moral principles, enterprise, frugality, economy, hardihood, regular habits, industry, ingenuity, patience, fortitude, and honesty. The germ of American manufactures, (so to speak,) was planted here. The first extensive forge in North America was erected in the ancient Taunton, and in the ancient

Dartmouth, (now New Bedford,) the whale fishery has been pushed to the extreme limit of profitable enterprise. The trade of Bristol with the West Indies at one period was immense.

During the whole period of the independent existence of this colony, the government almost self-constituted, had been respected and obeyed. It was found equal to the exigences of peace and of war; and to the accomplishment of the great end of all governments the security of the rights of person and of property, and by a firm and steady course of action it was able to produce a universal consciousness of that security.

Some instances of a spirit pugnacious and refractory had at times been discovered, but it was disarmed by mildness and persuasion without a resort to force.

The question may very naturally be asked how it happened that a population of adventurers without military force, and with little wealth, which is unquestionably a formidable element of power, and by which men often make their rule acceptable; and with an equality as general as was possible in any country which had a government; could without the sanction of a royal charter, and without the interference of the metropolis, which in infant colonies is generally imperative and absolute, sustain themselves so long without tumults and commotions, and do everything essential to the well-being of the community? This question finds its solution in the religious character of the people. Worldly objects were with them secondary, and that curse of all small and independent communities, political ambition, found no place amongst them. The higher offices were not sought, but the services of such as were fit to sustain them were demanded as the right of the people, and they were accepted not for the sake of distinction, emolument or pleasure, but from a

sense of duty ; fearful of the loss of reputation, men underwent the severe and painful duties which such offices required.

Where there was no strife for power, no temptation in the shape of emolument, and no passion for official distinctions, small was the danger of feuds and factions.

During the colonial government William Paddy was, it is believed, the first treasurer. Miles Standish succeeded him. John Alden was chosen to succeed him who held the office in 1656, 1657 and 1658. Constant Southworth was elected in 1659, and held the office to his death in 1679. His half-brother, the deputy governor, William Bradford, was then elected, and was continued by successive annual elections until the termination of the government, excepting during the government of Andros.

Nathaniel Souther was the first secretary whose name appears. Nathaniel Morton was secretary from 1645 to his death June 28, 1685. Nathaniel Clarke was elected in 1685, but held the office only one year. In 1686, Samuel Sprague was elected, who, excepting the interruption in the government during the time of Sir Edmund Andros held the office until the termination of the colonial government.

The junction of Plymouth with Massachusetts destroyed all the political consequence of the former, and but little regard has been had to the claims of the elder but humbler colony.

The people of Plymouth shared but few of the favors which the new government had to bestow, and it was seldom indeed that any resident in what was termed 'the old colony' obtained any office or distinction in the provincial government, or acquired any influence in its councils.

Plymouth however may well be proud of the high distinctions which have been acquired by many of her native sons when placed in a more genial clime.

She has furnished her full proportion of talent, genius, learning and enterprise in almost every department of life, and in other lands the merits of the posterity of the pilgrims have been acknowledged. They may be found wherever the sway of the American republic is obeyed, and even in the armies, the navies, and the councils of our proud mother nation; they have won their way to eminence not by the aid of birth or family connexion, but by the force of superior merit and transcendant ability. Amongst the proudest names in the British navy may be found the descendant of the original purchaser of Mattapoissett in Swansey,* and attached to the title of one of the most distinguished of the peerage is the name of an early settler of Scituate.†

In one respect they present a remarkable exception to the rest of America. They are the purest English race in the world; there is scarcely any intermixture even with the Scotch or the Irish, and none with the aboriginals. Almost all the present population are descended from the original English settlers. Many of them still own the lands which their early ancestors rescued from the wilderness, and although they have spread themselves in every direction through this wide continent, from the peninsula of Nova Scotia to the Gulf of Mexico, some one of a family has generally remained to cultivate the soil which was owned by his ancestors. The fishermen and navigators of Maine, the children of Plymouth, still continue the industrious and bold pursuits of their forefathers. In that fine country beginning at Utica in the State of New York, and stretching to Lake Erie, this race may be found on every hill and in every valley; on the rivers and on the lakes. The emigrant from the sand-bank of Cape Cod

* Sir Jahleel Brenton.

† Vassall Holland.

revels in the profusion of the agricultural opulence of Ohio. In all the southern and southwestern states, the natives of the 'old colony,' like the Armenians of Asia, may be found in every place where commerce and traffic offer any lure to enterprise, and in the heart of the gigantic peninsula of Michigan, like their ancestors, they have commenced the cultivation of the wilderness, like them, surrounded with savage beasts and savage men, and like them patient in suffering, despising danger, and animated with hope.

END OF THE FOURTH PART.

ERRATA IN THE SECOND PART.

- Page 21, line 7 from the bottom, strike out these words, 'the last and most,' and insert *a*.
- " 114, in the last line, dele 'In 1673, this law was repealed.'
- " 210, in line 8 from the top, between the words 'office,' and 'immediately,' insert *and*.
- " 217, for 'Ovid,' read *David*.
- " 219, in line 6 from the bottom, add *s* to 'land.'
- " 229, note, line 3 from the bottom, between 'settlers,' and 'from,' insert *they were*.
- " 230, in line 14 from the top, enclose 'Tettiquet, Tettaquid,' in brackets.
- " 231, in line 6 from the top, for 'went,' read *came*.
- " 250, in line 6 from the bottom, between 'the,' and 'towns,' insert *other*.

ERRATA IN THE THIRD PART.

Page 6, in line 19 from the top, dele 'Their,' and insert *Its*; in the next line, dele 'about,' and insert *of*; and after Salem, in the same line, add, *and the adjoining towns*. In the same page, line 9 from the bottom, dele 'were,' and insert *was*, and in the same line and the next, dele 'in 1630.'

Page 9, in line 10 from the bottom, after 'wilderness,' a semicolon, the following word 'Rulers,' to begin with a small *r*; in the next line, after 'tens,' a colon.

Page 17, in line 10 from the bottom, after 'bought,' and before 'sold,' insert *and*.

- " 32, in line 15 from the bottom, }
 " 94, in line 8, from the top, } dele in each 'was,' and insert *were*.
 " 106, in line 4 from the bottom, }
 " 125, in line 10 from the top, dele 'be,' and insert *have been*.
 " 152, in line 9 from the bottom, dele 'When,' and insert *after*.
 " 159, in line 13 from the top, after 'prisoners,' insert *and*.
 " 172, in line 3 from the bottom, dele 'set,' and insert *sit*.
 " " in line 2 from the bottom, before 'surely,' insert *but*.

ERRATA IN THE FOURTH PART.

Page 104, in line 11 from the top, 'president,' in brackets.

- " 106, in line 4 from the top, dele 'and.'
- " 123, in the note, line 8 from the bottom, dele 'power,' next line, 5 from the bottom, dele 'force,' and insert *power*.
- " 127, in the note, line 9 from the top, dele 'he did.'
- " 142, in line 15 from the top, after 'there,' insert a comma; after 'Sir William Phipps,' dele a comma.

APPENDIX.

EARLY AND ABORTIVE ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE NEW ENGLAND.

THE master spirit of England for romantic enterprise, and a passionate desire to discover, explore, and settle new countries, was Sir Walter Raleigh. He gathered into his service all those bold spirits, full of courage, of curiosity, and the love of adventure, whose enterprises have thrown around the era of Queen Elizabeth such a blaze of renown. Amongst them was Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, an experienced mariner, who commanded one in the squadron of ships which Raleigh sent to Virginia. Not discouraged by the unfortunate issue of that, Gosnold resolved to make another attempt to explore, and to establish a settlement in the Northern Virginia, (afterwards New England,) and he proposed to shorten his voyage by abandoning the circuitous route by the Canaries, and stretching directly across the Atlantic. Whether Raleigh was concerned in this undertaking is not known; it had his approbation however. On the 26th of March, 1602, Gosnold sailed from Falmouth in a small bark with thirtytwo persons, of whom eight were mariners.*

Upon finding a proper place, twenty of the company were to be left, with supplies, to commence a plantation. By pursuing the

* The names of some have been preserved, namely : Bartholomew Gosnold, commander; Bartholomew Gilbert, second officer; John Angel; Robert Salterne, afterwards a clergyman; William Streete; Gabriel Archer, gentleman and journalist—he afterwards went to Virginia; James Rosier—he wrote an account of the voyage, and presented it to Sir Walter Raleigh; ——— Tucker; John Breerton or Brereton.

new route, the length of the voyage was materially lessened; the coast of America was seen (May 14) between Cape Anne and Nahant. Gosnold then stood to the southward and anchored in a harbor, and taking great quantities of Cod he gave the name of the fish to the land, and not even the name of the king, subsequently given the same land by Captain John Smith, could displace Gosnold's name of Cape Cod. After a difficult navigation amongst the islands and shoals on the south side of the Cape, some of the company landed on the 22d, on a small island now called No-man's land, and on the 24th Gayhead on Martha's Vineyard was discovered, and called Dover Cliff. Gosnold came to anchor near the island of Cattyhunk, (Poocutahunkanoh,) which he called Elizabeth's Island, in honor of the queen; (this name is now applied to a group and to no single island.) Cuttyhunk lies between Gayhead and Dartmouth shore in the county of Bristol. It was uninhabited but fertile; 'overgrown with wood and rubbish; the woods oak, ash, beech, walnut, witch-hazel, sassafrage, and cedars, with divers others of unknown names. The rubbish was wild pease, young sassafrage, cherry trees, vines, eglantine, (or sweet briar,) gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honey-suckles, with others of the like quality. The herbs and roots were strawberries, rasps, ground-nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c. Touching the fertility of the soil, by our experience, (says the journalist,) we found it excellent; for, sowing some English pulse, it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot.'

There was a pond of fresh water in the island, within which was a 'rocky islet.'

On this rocky islet, (while Gosnold and a part of the company were employed in visiting the main, exploring, &c,) Archer with another company, built a store-house,* and fort, with the view of commencing a settlement.

On the 5th of June, they were visited by an Indian chief and fifty men, and a traffic was commenced which was carried on with mutual good humor. Some of these Indians remained and assisted the English in gathering the roots of sassafras, with which the island

* The cellar of this house remains; it was discovered by Dr Belknap, on the 20th of June, 1797, nearly two centuries after it was made.

abounded. Some of the company, however, were afterwards attacked by the Indians, and one was wounded. This circumstance, and the small quantity of provision, induced the company to determine unanimously to return. After loading their small vessel with sassafras roots, they sailed for England on the 18th of June, 'and after a pleasant voyage of five weeks, arrived at Exmouth, in Devonshire,' and thus failed the first attempt to settle New England.

Bartholomew Gilbert, the second in command in this expedition to New England, went on another voyage in 1603, to discover Raleigh's colony in South Virginia; he reached the coast in latitude forty, and going on shore on the 29th of July, with only four men, was attacked by the Indians, and all were killed.

By the influence of Richard Hackluyt, prebendary of St Augustine's Church in Bristol, the mayor, aldermen, and merchants of that city, were induced to send out a squadron, under the command of Martin Pring, to make discoveries in the region which Gosnold had visited in 1602. Hackluyt, together with Angel and Salterne, two of Gosnold's associates, having obtained permission of Sir Walter Raleigh, the squadron consisting of two vessels of fifty and twenty-six tons, sailed April 10th, 1603.

Pring fell in with the coast between latitudes forty-three and forty-four, not far from Penobscot, and then running southwest, finally anchored at Old-town Harbor, (Martha's Vineyard;) there a hut was built, and the crew employed themselves in gathering sassafras roots; they had much intercourse with the Indians, but discovering some hostile indications among them, and not designing a settlement, they resolved to return, and sailing on the 9th of August, reached Bristol on the 2d of October.

In 1604, Captain Weymouth discovered the bay and river of Penobscot.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, an intimate friend and associate of Raleigh, and partaking largely of that spirit of enterprise for which Raleigh was so much distinguished, had been appointed governor of Plymouth. Weymouth carried with him four native Indians, one of whom was Tisquantum, afterwards so well known to the settlers of Plymouth by the name of Squanto. These natives were kindly treated by Gorges, and they communicated to him much information concerning their country, which was of a

favorable nature, his zeal was excited, and motives which regarded both profit and fame, induced him to project a settlement there. In this undertaking, he was aided by the Chief Justice of England, Sir John Popham. Under their joint patronage, a ship was despatched in August, 1806, under the command of Captain Henry Chalong. He was ordered to approach the American coast in a latitude as high as Cape Breton, and then to range the coast south. He was taken sick, altered his course, arrived at Porto Rico, and was soon afterwards taken by the Spaniards.

Captain Prynne was afterwards sent out to discover Chalong and to make discoveries; although he failed in his first object, his report of the coast, its rivers, harbors, and quality of the soil, was so favorable, that the Chief Justice and Sir Ferdinando were determined to found a colony; of this contemplated colony George Popham was appointed president; Raleigh Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlon, master of the ordnance; Robert Davis, serjeant major; Elis Best, marshal; Mr Seaman, secretary; James Davis, commander of the fort; Gomez Carew, searcher, all of whom were to be of the council: one hundred others were to compose the body of the planters, who were to be unconnected with the government. This expedition sailed from Plymouth (May 31, 1607) 'and landed (August 11) at the mouth of Sagadahoc or Kennebec river.' A storehouse was erected, fortified, and called Fort St George. The settlers were received kindly by the Indians; the ships sailed for England in December, and fortyfive persons were left to commence the colony. The winter was excessively severe; the storehouse was burnt; the president, Captain Popham, died, and the command devolved on Gilbert. A ship came out in the spring bringing news of the death of Sir John Popham and of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother of Raleigh Gilbert. The admiral succeeded to the title and estate of his brother, and was therefore obliged to return to England. The soil and climate did not meet the expectations of the colonists; they all resolved to return, and when the admiral sailed, they accompanied him, and thus failed the second attempt to settle and colonize New England.

Sir Francis Popham, the son and successor of Sir John Popham, continued for several years to send out a ship to carry on the

fishery and fur trade. No disasters could overcome the steady perseverance of Gorges, and he resolved to commence a colony in America with his own means. To obtain a better knowledge of the advantages and localities of the country, he sent out Captain Richard Vines and several of his own servants, who besides fishing and trafficking, were to explore : Vines and the others were to remain through the winter. They resided in New England at the period when the great pestilence was raging amongst the Indians from Narragansett to Penobscot ; it being in 1612. Vines and his companions lived freely with Indians ; lodged in their wigwams when the pestilence was there ; visited the sick, and exposed themselves in every possible way, and never were affected, while the Indians were dying by thousands.

While Sir Ferdinando was engaged in arranging and comparing the journals of Vines, with a view to secure the most eligible place for a settlement, Captain Henry Harley, who had been one of the adventurers to Sagadahoc, introduced to him a native of Capewack, (Martha's Vineyard,) whose name was Epenow, who had been treacherously enticed on board a fishing vessel, and carried off ; the savage longing to return to his own country, persuaded Gorges that he had knowledge of a gold mine there, hoping that Gorges would be induced to send out a vessel in which he could return. Gorges persuaded the Earl of South Hampton and Captain Hobson, to advance an £100 each, on the faith of the Indian's information. Harley was employed to command the ship that was to go ; he sailed in June, 1614, taking with him Epenow and three Indians, and several soldiers ; when he reached Capewack, Epenow escaped by a stratagem ; the vision of the gold mine was dissolved, and the ship returned.

Sir Ferdinando was not yet discouraged, but kept steadily to his project of establishing a colony. In concert with Dr Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, and others, ' he equipped two vessels, in which, besides the sailors, sixteen men were placed, to begin a colony in New England.' These ships sailed in March, 1615, but they had not been long at sea, when the large ship lost her masts and sprung a leak, both ships put back ; the injured one was repaired, and they both proceeded on their voyage, but one of them being taken by the French, the whole design was frustrated.

Ships continued to be sent yearly to procure fish and furs, but all designs of colonizing were abandoned, except by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He, however, soon found in Captain Thomas Dermer, an enterprising man, one who was willing to cooperate with him. Captain Edward Rocrast was sent to New England with orders to wait for Dermer, but disregarding his orders, he went to Virginia, where he was killed in a quarrel. Dermer on his arrival, not being able to find Rocrast, ranged the coast, and obtained much useful information, which he transmitted to Gorges; he proceeded so far as Virginia, where he ascertained the fate of Rocrast, and then returned to the North. Being at Capewack, he nearly fell a victim to the suspicions of Epenow, who, fearful of being seized and punished for his deceit, engaged the Indians of the island in a general conspiracy against Dermer and his crew. They attacked the English; Dermer defended himself singly with his sword against a number of Indians, and finally escaped, after receiving fourteen wounds; he found it necessary to go to Virginia, and there he died. This disaster almost overcame the patient resolution of Gorges, and as he himself said, 'made him almost resolve never to intermeddle again in any of these courses.' But he did not long indulge this despondency; he now set himself to form a company, and obtain a charter; and to the Plymouth company 'of the County of Devon,' the great charter of New England was granted, by King James, November 3d, 1620.

'Forty noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, were incorporated for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England in America.' But the high honor of being the founder of New England, was snatched from Gorges by Robinson's church; he interested himself nevertheless, in obtaining their first patent.*

* Captain Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinando, a man of much enterprise, who had already been distinguished in the Venetian wars, succeeded Captain West as admiral of New England, and obtained from the Plymouth council the grant of Wessagusset, ten miles long, and thirty broad; and by the influence of his kinsman, Lord Edward Gorges, 'obtained a commission to be lieutenant-general and governor of New England. The fate of this plantation has been related.

Although Sir Ferdinando Gorges fell into much difficulty with Parliament about the charter to the Plymouth council, yet nothing could damp his ardent

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was one of that host of great men which came into notice under the patronage of the greatest of the English sovereigns; and was surpassed by none in zeal, enterprise, and public spirit. Although but little was effected by him apparently in the settlement of New England, yet there can be but little question that the settlement of the country was accelerated in consequence of his unremitting endeavors to effect it.

and enterprising spirit; he obtained a grant to himself and Captain John Mason, (governor of Portsmouth, and member of the council,) of all the territory between the Merrimac and Sagadahoc, or Kennebec, which was called Laconia, embracing the western part of Maine, and a large part of New Hampshire; the settlement of Piscataqua, now Portsmouth, was commenced in 1623. Vines had reported in favor of a settlement at Saco, but Gorges sent over Francis Norton, who commenced the first permanent settlement in Maine, at Agamenticus, (now York.)

In 1630, the general settlement of Massachusetts commenced. In 1639, Gorges obtained a grant to himself of a territory called the province of Maine, of which he was made the Lord Palatine. 'By virtue of this power, he incorporated his plantation at Agamenticus,' into a city, which he called Gorgiana, of which his cousin, Thomas Gorges, was mayor. The council were Sir Thomas Josselyn, Richard Vines, Francis Champernoone, nephew to Gorges, Henry Josselyn, Richard Boniton, William Hooke, and Edward Godfrey.

In the war between the king and Parliament, Gorges adhered to the king. In 1645, 'he was plundered and imprisoned,' and his views with respect to his plantation, were discountenanced; in June, 1647, he was dead.

His eldest son was John Gorges. The commissioners appointed to govern Maine, deserted the province. It fell into great disorder during the dissensions in England, and upon request, 'and to keep the peace,' Massachusetts took that unfortunate country under her 'protection,' in 1652.

The successor of John was Ferdinando Gorges, who, after the restoration of King Charles II., complained to the crown of the usurpation of Massachusetts, and some measures were taken to restore to the family of Gorges, their ancient rights; but a proposition having been made to the representative by John Usher, Esq., in behalf of Massachusetts, those rights were conveyed to Massachusetts for £1250 sterling, and the whole province passed into her hands for that small sum, on which the first Sir Ferdinando Gorges had expended more than £20,000.

Gosnold, as enthusiastic in his schemes of adventure as Gorges, embarked with Captain John Smith in 1607, and was one of the first settlers of Virginia, with the rank of counsellor. He soon fell a victim to the climate, and died on the 22d of August, 1607, and was buried with military, and was well deserving of higher honors, for he was the first who attempted to settle New England, and was amongst the first of the settlers of Virginia.

ATTEMPTS OF MR ROBINSON'S CHURCH TO ESCAPE TO HOLLAND.

The following account of the difficulties which befel Mr Robinson's church when attempting to escape to Holland, is taken from Governor Bradford's manuscript history of Plymouth, as transcribed by Hutchinson, which invaluable work is now unfortunately lost.

'There was a large company of them proposed to get passage at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the master to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods at a convenient place, where, accordingly, they would all attend in readiness. So, after long waiting and large expense, though he kept not day with them, yet he came at length and took them in, in the night. But when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having beforehand comploted with the searchers and other officers so to do, who took them and put them into open boats and then rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea even the women, further than became modesty, and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behold them. Being thus first by the catch-poles rifled and stript of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates, and messengers sent to inform the lords of the council of them, and so they were committed to ward. Indeed, the magistrates used them courteously, and shewed them what favor they could, but could not deliver them till order came from the council table; but the issue was, that after a month's imprisonment, the greatest part were dismissed and sent to the places from whence they came, but seven of the principal men were still kept in prison and bound over to the assizes. The next spring after, there was another attempt made, by some of these and others, to get over at another place. And so it fell out that they light of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own belonging to Zealand. They made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him than in the former of their own nation. He bade them not fear, for he would do well enough. He was, by appoint-

ment, to take them in between Grimstone and Hull, where was a large common a good way distant from any town. Now against the prefixed time, the women and children, with the goods, were sent to the place in a small bark, which they had hired for that end, and the men were to meet them by land ; but it so fell out, that they were there a day before the ship came, and the sea being rough and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put them into a creek hard by, where they lay on ground at low water. The next morning the ship came, but they were fast and could not stir till about noon. In the mean time, the ship-master, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to get the men aboard whom he saw ready, walking about the shore, but after the first boatful was got aboard, and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company both horse and foot, with bills and guns, and other weapons, for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman, seeing that, swore his country's oath, 'sacramente,' and having the wind fair, weighed anchor, hoisted sails, and away. After enduring a fearful storm at sea for fourteen days or more, seven whereof they never saw sun, moon, nor stars ; and being driven near the coast of Norway, they arrived at their desired haven, whence the people came flocking, admiring their deliverance, the storm having been so long and sore, in which much hurt had been done, as the master's friends related to him in their congratulations. The rest of the men that were in greatest danger made a shift to escape away before the troop could surprise them, those only staying that best might be assisting unto the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in distress ; what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones, crying for fear and quaking with cold. Being apprehended they were hurried from one place to another, till in the end they knew not what to do with them ; for, to imprison so many women with their innocent children for no other cause, many of them, but that they would go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable, and all would cry out on them ; and to send them home again was as difficult, for they alleged, as the truth was, they had no homes to go to, for they had either sold or otherwise disposed of their houses and

livings. To be short, after they had thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms, though, in the mean time, they, poor souls, endured misery enough.'

EDWARD WINSLOW'S AGENCY IN ENGLAND.

In the manuscript history of Governor Bradford was the following account of Governor Winslow's agency and troubles.

'It came to pass, that having occasion to answer some complaint against this country at council board, chiefly concerning his neighbors in the bay, the which he did to great effect, and further prosecuting such things as might tend to the good of the whole, as well themselves as others, about the wrongs and encroachments that the French and other strangers both had done and were like further to do unto them if not prevented, he preferred the petition following to their honors that were deputed commissioners for the plantations.

'To the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners for the Plantations in America :

'The humble petition of Edward Winslow on behalf of the plantations in New England, humbly sheweth unto your lordships, that whereas your petitioners have planted themselves in New England under his majesty's most gracious protection, now so it is, right honorable, that the French and Dutch do endeavor to divide the land between them, for which purpose the French have upon the east side entered and seized upon one of our houses and carried away the goods, slew two of the men in another place, and took the rest prisoners with their goods; and the Dutch in the west have also made entry upon Connecticut river within the limits of his majesty's letters patents, where they have raised a fort, and threaten to expel your petitioners thence who are also planted upon the same river, maintaining possession for his majesty, to their great charge and hazard both of lives and goods. In tender consideration hereof, your petitioners humbly pray that your lordships will either procure their peace with those foreign states, or else

give special warrant unto your petitioners and the English colonies to right and defend themselves against all foreign enemies,' &c.

This petition found good acception with most of them, and Mr Winslow was heard sundry times by them, and appointed further to attend for an answer from their lordships, especially having upon conference with them laid down a way how this might be done without any other charge or trouble to the state, only by furnishing some of the chief of the country with authority, who would undertake it at their own charge, and in such a way as should be without any public disturbance. But this crossed both Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason's design, and that of the Archbishop of Canterbury by them, for Sir F. Gorges, by the archbishop's favor, was to have been sent over general governor into the country, and to have had means from the state for that end, and was now upon despatch and conclusion of the business. And the archbishop's intent was by his means and some he should send with him, (to be furnished with episcopal power,) to disturb the peace of the churches here, and to overthrow their proceedings and prevent their further growth, which was the thing he aimed at. But it so fell out, by God's Providence, that he in the end crossed this petition from taking any further effect in this kind; yet by this as a chief means the plot and whole business of his and Sir Ferdinando's fell to the ground and came to nothing. When Mr Winslow should have had his suit granted, as indeed, upon the point it was, and should have been confirmed, the archbishop put a stop upon it, and Mr Winslow, thinking to get it freed, went to the board again; but the bishop, Sir Ferdinando, and Captain Mason had, as it seems, procured Morton to complain, to whose complaints Mr Winslow made answer to the good satisfaction of the board, who checked Morton and rebuked him sharply, and also blamed Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Mason for countenancing him; but the bishop had further end and use of his presence, for he now began to question Mr Winslow of many things, as of teaching in the church publicly, of which Morton accused him, and gave evidence that he had seen and heard him do it; to which Mr Winslow answered, that sometimes, wanting a minister, he did exercise his gift to help the edification of his brethren when they wanted better means, which was not often. Then about marriage, the which he also confessed, that having been called to

place of magistracy he had sometimes married some ; and further told their lordships that marriage was a civil thing, and he found no where in the word of God that it was tied to a minister ; again, they were necessitated so to do, having for a long time together, at first, no minister, besides it was no new thing, for he had been so married himself in Holland by the magistrates in their state-house. But, in the end, to be short, by these things, the bishop, by vehement importunity, got the board at last to consent to his commitment, so he was carried to the Fleet, and lay there seventeen weeks or thereabouts before he could get to be released. The other design by this business and other things concurring, was frustrated, which was no small blessing to the people here.'

ROBERT BROWN.

The following notice of Robert Brown is taken from the *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, by Lucy Aikin.

'It was in the year 1580, that Robert Brown, having completed his studies in divinity at Cambridge, began to preach at Norwich against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, and to promulgate a scheme which he affirmed to be more conformable to the apostolical model. According to his system, each congregation of believers was to be regarded as a separate church, possessing in itself full jurisdiction over its own concerns; the *liberty of prophesying* was to be indulged to all the brethren equally, and pastors were to be elected and dismissed at the pleasure of the majority, in whom he held that all power ought of right to reside. On account of these opinions, Brown was called before certain ecclesiastical commissioners, who imprisoned him for contumacy; but the interference of his relation, Lord Burleigh, procured his release, after which, he repaired to Holland, where he founded several churches, and published a book in defence of his system, in which he strongly inculcated upon his disciples the duty of separating themselves from what he stated anti-christian churches. For the sole offence of distributing this work, two men were hanged in Suffolk, in 1583; to which extremity of punish-

ment they were subjected as having impugned the queen's supremacy, which was declared felony by a late statute now for the first time put in force against Protestants. Brown himself, after his return from Holland, was repeatedly imprisoned, and, but for the protection of his powerful kinsman, might probably have shared the fate of his two disciples. At length the terror of a sentence of excommunication, drove him to recant, and joining the established church, he soon obtained preferment. But the Brownist sect suffered little by the desertion of its founder, whose private character was far from exemplary; in spite of penal laws, of persecution, and even of ridicule and contempt, it survived, increased, and eventually became the model on which the churches not only of the sect of Independents, but also of the two other denominations of English Protestant dissenters remain at the present day constituted.' He died in 1630, in North Hampton jail, where he was imprisoned 'for assaulting a constable, and insulting a magistrate.' His book was entitled 'A Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for any Man.'

STEPHEN HOPKINS.

One of the pilgrims of the May Flower, and an early magistrate of the Plymouth government, is supposed by Hutchinson to have been the person of that name who accompanied Sir George Somers on his voyage from England to Virginia, interrupted by his shipwreck on the Bermuda Islands, by which disaster those islands were discovered.

EXTRACT FROM THE NARRATIVE OF THE COMMISSIONERS SENT OUT BY
KING CHARLES II., IN 1666.

NEW PLYMOUTH.

'This colony is seated on a neck of land, the barrenest part of the country. They were the first planters in New England, though

the Massachusetts got the first charter, and since hath much straightened this colony by stretching their line so much southerly. They showed their charter, and gave a copy of it to their commissioners, and told them they were so poor they could not renew it; whereupon the commissioners took occasion to offer to get their charter renewed, and delivered to them at the commissioners' own charge, if, for a further demonstration of their loyalty, they would let his majesty choose one of three (whose names themselves should send to the king) to be their governor, and thus to be done every three years, or every five years, which they thought best. The commissioners thought if this had succeeded in this the first colony they had visited, it might have been a good example for the rest; but after the general assembly had considered of it, with many thanks to the commissioners, and great protestations of their loyalty to the king, they chose to be as they were. They have about twelve small towns, one saw-mill for boards, one bloomery for iron, neither good river nor good harbor, nor any place of strength; they are so poor, they are not able to maintain scholars to their ministers, but are necessitated to make use of a gifted brother in some places.'

The following is extracted from the narrative of Edward Randolph, written for the Lords of Trade in October, 1676.

As to the colonies of New Plymouth and Connecticut it is humbly offered :

'The laws of England are there observed with such of their own as are not contradictory thereunto. The oath of allegiance is taken by every magistrate and officer, whether civil or military, and by all freemen. All commissions, proclamations, writs and summons are in his majesty's name.

'The number of inhabitants in both colonies are computed to be eighty thousand souls. There are no slaves, only hired servants. The chief professions are farmers, glaziers and fishermen. Very few merchants, they being supplied with all foreign commodities from Boston.

‘The militia consist of four troops of horse, and five regiments of foot, who are well armed and disciplined, no old soldiers among them. The number fit to bear arms, twenty thousand. The country is very fertile and pleasant, and abounds in corn and cattle, and produceth very good horses, the best in all New England which are sent into several parts. There is great abundance of tar and excellent good hemp, and there is made a good quantity of whale oil, which fish they take upon the coasts. The act of navigation is duly observed. No stranger is admitted to come into their ports. They have no ships of burthen, but only small ketches and barks, to trade along the coasts and take fish.

‘They are generally very loyal and good people, and do upon all occasions express great love to the person and government of his majesty, and do heartily wish that his majesty’s authority were established over the whole country.

‘The present governor of New Plymouth is Josiah Winslow, Esq.; a person eminently popular and beloved in all the colonies of New-England, and was general of the united forces against the Indians.

The governor of Connecticut is William Leet, Esq., a very worthy person, as are most of the magistrates of that colony.

‘The losses which these colonies have sustained by the Indian war, is estimated to near one hundred thousand pound.’

In the same narrative, in answer to the eighth inquiry made by the Lords of Trade with respect to the Indian war, he says:

‘No advantage, but many disadvantages have arisen to the English by the war, for about six hundred men have been slain, and twelve captains, most of them brave and stout persons, and of loyal principles, whilst the church members had liberty to stay at home, and not hazard their persons in the wilderness.

‘The loss to the English in the several colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, there having been about one thousand two hundred houses burned, eight thousand head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat, pease, and other grain burned, (of which the Massachusetts colony hath not been damnified one third part, the great loss falling upon New

Plymouth and Connecticut colonies,) and upwards of three thousand Indians, men, women and children destroyed, who, if well managed, would have been very serviceable to the English, which makes all manner of labor dear.'

Randolph also prepared a narrative for the king, from which this extract is made.

'At my return to Boston, I received a message from Josiah Winslow, Esq., governor of your majesty's colony of New Plymouth, desiring I would give him a visit before I left New England; whereupon I made a journey to him, whom I found a gentleman of loyal principles, and hath shewed himself a person of great courage and conduct in the management of the Indian war, those barbarous people being chiefly overcome by his conduct and troops, which makes him to be feared and not loved, by his neighbors the Bostoners.

'In his discourse, he expressed his great dislike of the carriage of the magistrates of Boston to your majesty's royal person, and your subjects under their government; of their encroaching upon the rights, trades, and possessions of the neighboring colonies, laying what rates they please on the commodities and products of the other colonies imported into their harbors; the daily breach of your majesty's laws concerning trade and navigation, trading with and encouraging all nations to trade with them, to the great prejudice and detriment of your majesty, and this your kingdom; and that he finding the inconveniences of a divided government daily arising, did say, that New England could never be secure, flourish, nor be serviceable to your majesty, until the several colonies and plantations were reduced under your majesty's immediate government, and that the colonies of New Plymouth and Connecticut would readily and willingly submit to your majesty's pleasure and commands in the disposal and settlement of the civil government.'

WILLIAM PADDY.

While this work was passing through the press, the remains of William Paddy, once an eminent person in the government of

New Plymouth, who removed to Boston, were singularly discovered, as appears from a Boston newspaper printed on the day succeeding the discovery.

‘ Some of the workmen employed in removing the earth from the north side of the Old State House, yesterday dug up a tombstone, considerably broken, on one side of which was the following inscription :—

“ Hear lyeth the body of Mr William Paddy, aged 58 years. Departed this life Avgust, 1658.”

‘ On the other side—

“ Hear sleaps that blesed one, he
Whose lief God help vs all to live,
That so when tiem shall be
That we this world must lieve,
We ever may be happy
With blesed William Paddy.”

‘ A number of human bones, and pieces of coffin, were also taken up by the workmen, and it is supposed that during the day eight or ten thousand persons came into State Street to examine them. This circumstance has given rise to various conjectures ; but we understand from a gentleman who has investigated the subject, that Mr Paddy was a highly respectable individual — that he was possessed of considerable property for that early period of the history of the town—and that he was one of the Board of Selectmen at the time of his death. It appears by the records that he attended a meeting of the Board on the 12th of August, 1658. His will, a copy of which is in the Probate Office, is dated on the 20th, and he died on the 24th of the same month, leaving nine children, which were equally provided for. It is a little remarkable that the name of Paddy is extinct in Massachusetts. He was a member of the first General Court of the province ; and it has been ascertained, we hear, that he was also a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. It is believed that he owned the land in which his body was interred, and on which the Old State House now stands.’

THE FIRST BORN OF NEW ENGLAND.

Peregrine White, the first born of Plymouth, and of all New England, was born in Cape Cod Harbor, November 20th, 1620, and died at Marshfield, July 20th, 1704, aged nearly eightyfour.

Elizabeth Patch, the first born of Massachusetts, was born at Salem, in 1629, and died January 14th, 1716, aged eightyseven.

Mary Godfrey, the first born of Rhode Island, was born at Newport, in 1639, and died there April 14th, 1716, aged seventy-seven.

EARLY SETTLERS.

Walter Deane and John Deane, two of the early settlers of Taunton, were probably from Chard, in Somersetshire, and not from Taunton.

John Saffin, an early settler in Swansey and Bristol, resided in Scituate ten years. His first wife was a daughter of Captain Thomas Willett.

John Hoar was an early settler in Scituate. He was a brother of Richard Hoar, an early settler in Yarmouth, Hezekiah Hoar, an early settler in Taunton, and Leonard Hoar, third president of Harvard College, and cousin to Rev. Samuel Newman of Rehoboth. *From information of Rev. Samuel Deane, of Scituate.*

END OF THE APPENDIX.

AN
HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF THE COLONY OF
NEW PLYMOUTH.
PART V.
BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

HISTORICAL MEMOIR

OF

PLYMOUTH COLONY.

PART V.

CHAPTER I.

Notice of the Hon. Francis Baylies.—Retrospective Review.—Plymouth of Great Historical Interest.—The Pilgrims.—Materials for their History.—Discoveries of Bradford's History.—Young's Chronicles.—Freeman's History of Cape Cod.—The Towns included in Plymouth Colony from its first Settlement till its Union with Massachusetts.

THE Honorable Francis Baylies, author of the preceding "Historical Memoir," was a native of Dighton, Massachusetts, having been born there on the 16th of October, 1783. His paternal descent appears to be traceable only to his father, William Baylies, M. D., of Dighton, a gentleman of distinction in that section of the State: He was a graduate of Harvard College of the Class of 1760, was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775, and afterwards several times member of the State Council. Dr. Baylies died at Dighton, June 17, 1826, at the advanced age of eighty-two years. Of his maternal ancestry, Mr. Baylies has told us something, though in rather general terms. He says, in speaking of the Gilbert family, that

he was descended from that Thomas, of Taunton, who married Jane Rossiter, and from his eldest daughter, Jane, who married Samuel Williams, of Taunton, eldest son of Richard Williams; that Samuel Williams, their son, "was the great-grandfather of the Author of this Memoir."

In the very meagre notice of Mr. Baylies, in the "Ministry of Taunton," it is said that he was "the grandson of the Hon. Samuel White, the first Taunton lawyer," while Mr. Baylies himself states in the same work, that Mr. Samuel Danforth of Taunton was a lawyer, who was many years anterior to Mr. White.

Mr. Baylies prepared himself for the law, and in 1810 commenced its practice in Taunton. He was Register of Probate ten years, namely, from 1811 to 1821, inclusive. In the latter year he was elected member of Congress, in which capacity he served six years, and in 1832 was appointed Minister to Buenos Ayres.

The writings, or rather the publications of our author are not numerous. The Memoir of New Plymouth amounts in quantity of matter, probably, to far more than all the rest. He is said to have written "many other historical and biographical articles, which have appeared either by themselves or in the leading publications of the day." Not many of those have come to the knowledge of the writer. An extensive history of the United States by him remains in manuscript. Of published speeches, not many have come to our knowledge.

On the death of Gen. David Cobb, of Taunton, which occurred on the 17th of April, 1830, Mr. Baylies delivered "Some Remarks on the Life and Character" of that distinguished gentleman, at the Taunton Lyceum, July 2d, following. The "Remarks," after a space of thirty-four years, were printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. The sentiment with which he

opened those "Remarks" should be kept in the mind of every one who undertakes a biography. "If a portrait be presented in which a general resemblance is perceived—yet if it be caricatured into deformity, or embellished with beauties unknown to the original—all will discover a malignity of purpose, or a complimentary subserviency to the feelings of living friends, equally at war with truth."

The next production of Mr. Baylies, so far as we know, was a Fourth of July Oration, delivered before the Taunton Lyceum, in 1831. The next before us is a "Speech before the Whigs of Taunton," on the 13th of September, 1837. His "Eulogy on the Hon. Benjamin Russell," is a valuable piece of Biography. It was delivered before the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Massachusetts, March 10th, 1845. It was printed immediately after, in a handsome octavo pamphlet of 66 pages.

Mr. Baylies was one of the Trustees of Bristol Academy for twenty-eight years; having been chosen in 1818. In the work entitled "The Ministry of Taunton," the Editor informs us that its Introduction was written by Mr. Baylies; indeed he has placed his name conspicuous upon the title pages. A portrait of Mr. Baylies also accompanied those volumes, but it gives but a faint resemblance of the original as we remember him. Mr. Emery acknowledges great indebtedness to Mr. Baylies in the preparation of his "Ministry." He also informs us that his library is "one of the finest in the town or county."

The decease of Mr. Baylies occurred on the 28th of October, 1852, at the age of sixty-nine years and twelve days. His wife was Elizabeth, widow of David Daggett Deming, Esq., of the city of New York, daughter of Howard Moulton, Esq., of Troy, in the same State. She was sister-in-law to Gen. John Ellis Wool, distinguished in our three late wars. He left but one child, Harriet, born

May 4th, 1823, who married Nathaniel Morton, Esq., son of the Hon. Marcus Morton, September 29th, 1846. She is now a widow, her husband having died on the 12th of February, 1856, at the age of about thirty-four years.

RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW.

The value of Mr. Baylies's History has never been fully appreciated by investigators of the Old Colony History for several reasons; among which may be mentioned, its defective arrangement, and its want of any kind of an Index, Table of Contents or definite Heads of Chapters. The absence of these very necessary aids is not a little augmented, not to say aggravated, owing to the manner in which the work is paged—it being in four Parts, all of which are separately paged. As originally issued, it was bound in two volumes of very unequal size—giving to the first volume 321 pages, while to the second was given 649. Hence, to get rid of this unsightly disproportion, the two volumes are generally bound in one; and as the paper on which the work is printed is thin and spongy, the volume thus bound is not unwieldy. Another serious drawback to the work is a want of any means of knowing in what *Part* one is looking at first opening it; that is, whether in Part I, II, III or IV, as there is nothing to show, whatever. As such a work is generally hurriedly consulted by the student, for some fact, he must necessarily work at a loss of time, becomes perplexed and throws the book aside as worthless. This defect cannot be entirely remedied unless the work be reprinted. As far as there is any remedy, this new issue has it, by the ample Index which has been prepared at great expense of time and labor. The consulter will now have the advantage of knowing by the Index whether the facts he desires are in the

volume, without wading backward and forward among a *prairie* of pagination.

Mr. Baylies probably supposed his work would be used by Old Colony people and their descendants, not so much as a book of reference as entertainment; but even this cannot excuse the neglect of proper marks *for* reference. Especially as the day of reading such works solely for *entertainment* had well nigh closed in his time. Books have become altogether too numerous to be read and re-read, as formerly. We must know what is or is not in a book without turning through it leaf by leaf. And every good printer knows the value of references, and ought to call an author's attention to the matter, if by accident he happens to omit them in the proof. I have often *preached* on such *occasions*, as the New England Historical and Genealogical Register bears testimony.

The first Volume, or Part, of the "Historical Memoir" was published in 1830. Mr. Baylies was a member of the Legislature during the printing of his work, or from 1828 to 1832, and it was issued by the well known firm of Hilliard, Gray, Little & Wilkins, all of whom are deceased, except Mr. Charles C. Little, of the present firm of Little, Brown & Company.

To no part of New England is attached more, if so much interest, as to that known as the Old Colony of Plymouth. There is a reason for this interest too obvious to require any explanation, or rhetorical amplification. The Story of the Pilgrims; how they were persecuted in their native land; how they fled to Holland and took up their abode there where they could enjoy liberty of conscience; how at length from fears of their posterity's being absorbed by strangers, they resolved to cross the wide and stormy Atlantic that they might found a little community in an unknown wilderness where they could lead a life of

purity and leave an uncontaminated posterity to inherit it after them ; how perseveringly they carried out this determination, through the perils of the ocean in one frail bark, and in the depths of a midwinter's frosts and snows, with death at every turn staring them in the face, till a few short months had seen the grave close over half their number ; how during these early months unknown bands of unknown numbers of savage Indians were hovering about them—it is not strange that an interest far surpassing romance attaches to the commencement, rise and progress of the first permanent Colony of New England. And, as all that relates to the subject of this colony is attempted in the work by Mr. Baylies, no further notice will be expected here.

It was intended originally to add nothing to the work except an Index ; but, on reflection, it was thought it might be well to make a few notes and remarks on some parts of it. This seemed to be demanded by and due to the work itself, because so much new and important matter has been brought to light since Mr. Baylies wrote. Little however has been attempted by way of additions, as such additions as might be made would swell the work to an unreasonable size, and would be but a disjointed work, however valuable the additions might be. The recovery and publication of the supposed lost History by Governor Bradford, necessitates the rewriting of the history of the Old Colony, which no doubt will be done at no very distant day. The next great work made available to the historian is that of the Records of the Colony : completed in 1861, at the expense of the Commonwealth. These are in twelve heavy quarto volumes, which, by way of confusion, we are forced to have bound in ten. This silly and whimsical division of the work is not chargeable to Mr. Pulsifer, who mainly superintended the latter part of

the volumes while in the press; the division arrangement being the work of one previously having control. The work has no editing, unless simple proof-reading be so called.

The value of the "Historical Memoir" would have been considerably enhanced, if its author had been at the pains to note his authorities at the foot of his pages. Generally, however, any one tolerably read in the history of New England will not often be at a loss to assign statements to their original authors; but references to works, volumes and pages should never be omitted in a work of this kind.

It would be a pleasing occupation to the writer to give some account of the whole field of materials for a history of that interesting portion of New England, familiarly known as "OLD PLYMOUTH," or "THE OLD COLONY." But justice could not be done the subject without extending these additions far beyond the limits assigned for them. Owing to the paramount importance of Governor Bradford's History, however, it would not be pardonable to pass over it without some further notice. And, perhaps it cannot be more succinctly done than by extracting the article which appeared upon it, at the time of its publication in the Boston Evening Transcript of the 16th of April, 1855; and was thence copied into the New England Historical and Genealogical Register.* The reference to, and extract from the REGISTER is the more necessary, because the Editor of Bradford's History has, in his prefatory matter, ignored the primary steps which led to the recovery of that work. The Extract follows:—

"Comparatively but few persons will understand, by the mere announcement, that the 'long lost history of Governor Bradford' has been discovered, what the nature of that

* See vol. ix. 231-2, (July, 1855.) Also vol. x. pages 286-7, (July, 1856.)

MS. is, and what importance is attached to it by students in the history of the Pilgrims. For the benefit of the general reader, what follows is offered. William Bradford came to Plymouth in the Mayflower, in 1620, and was the second Governor of the little colony of Pilgrims, who laid the foundation of that ancient settlement. He was a man of learning, discretion, and sound judgment, and employed much of his time in the business of the Colony, and wrote much of a public nature. Among all his public and private engagements he found time to prepare a History of the Colony which he had taken so prominent a part in founding. That History came into the possession of the Rev. Thomas Prince, one of the ministers of the Old South Church in Boston, who carefully extracted from it in compiling his invaluable Annals. In the preface to those Annals, Mr. Prince gives a catalogue of some of his more important MS. sources of information. In this catalogue, the work of Bradford stands first, the title of which he thus gives: 'GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S *History of Plymouth People and Colony, from 1602 to the end of 1646, in 270 pages folio; with some account, at the end, of the increase of those who came over with him, from 1620 to 1650, and all in his own hand-writing.*'

" Besides Mr. Prince, Mr. Nathaniel Morton had made considerable use of the same MS. in compiling his 'New England's Memorial,' but not in a way that the extent of the use made could easily be ascertained. Governor Hutchinson also had the use of it, but it yet remains to be seen how much these several authors have omitted, as not coming within the scope of their designs. Times have changed. Facts, thought to be of little or no importance when these authors wrote, are, many of them, not so considered now, and all the words that flowed from the

pen of a Pilgrim, will be in future ages treasured up as 'pearls of great price.'

"But our main object in this article is to show how the MS. of Governor Bradford has been brought to the knowledge of the community at this time, which was in this accidental manner. Mr. J. S. Barry, a member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, a resident of Hanover, (who now has a History of Massachusetts in press,) borrowed of another member of the same society, [J. W. Thornton,] a History of the 'Episcopal Church in America,' published in England about ten years ago. In reading this work, Mr. Barry observed familiar passages, which passages the foot notes showed were extracts from a certain MS. in the Fulham Library. He pondered upon the matter a short time, and without making any positive decision as to what the MS. referred to was, took the book to another member of the same society and requested his opinion as to the author of the MS. On reading a single extract, this gentleman said at once that a portion of the extract was from Bradford's MS. History, as given by Prince, and that the remainder had never before been published, or if so, it had never come to his knowledge. He therefore encouraged Mr. Barry to pursue the matter, as he had no doubt that the original MS., a copy, or large extracts from it, were the foundation of the quotations in the book in which they were found. After this, or about this time, Mr. Barry called the attention of several others to the same passages of the book, and there appears to have been but one opinion respecting what they indicated, namely: that they indicated that there was something in the Fulham Library, about Plymouth, which could not be found in this country. Accordingly, one of the gentlemen with whom Mr. Barry conferred, [Charles Deane,] (who possesses much liberality, and is not at all wanting in

enthusiasm in antiquarian matters, especially in all that relates to New England,) immediately wrote to a gentleman in London [Rev. Joseph Hunter] to ascertain, if possible, what the MS. in question might be; at the same time furnishing him with the means of ascertaining whether it were in the chirography of Governor Bradford or not. Suffice it to say, that by the return steamer, undoubted evidence was received that Governor Bradford's MS. was *the* MS. sought for, and that the Bishop of London, in whose keeping it is, had obligingly allowed it to be copied, which is now being done. Hence, ere long, the copy will be forwarded to Boston.

"There will be naturally some curiosity respecting the extent of the MS., as to how much of a volume it will make in print, and so forth. Those questions cannot of course be settled until the MS. is received. But if the MS. is written in Governor Bradford's usual hand, it cannot make less than about 300 pages of the size of the publications of the Camden Society; or from 300 to 350 ordinary octavo pages, small pica type.

"How this MS. history found its way into England, we are not informed. It has been supposed to have been carried off when the Royal troops evacuated Boston in the spring of 1776, by some of them, or by some of the refugees. It is also supposed that it was in Prince's library, which he gave to the Old South Church, which library was in an apartment of that church when the soldiers of the king occupied it. Yet it may turn out that it had not been in that library since the time of Hutchinson, and it may have gone to England with his effects, as he is the last, so far as we know, who had the use of it, which was during the troubles between Boston and the mother country, which resulted in the independence of the United States.

"After all, though it is extremely desirable to possess every scrap written by Governor Bradford, or any of the Pilgrim band, it is probable that we have already, in Prince's New England Chronology, nearly every important fact recorded in the venerable MS. history, about which curiosity is so much alive at the present time; but, as before remarked, there may be several things, incidents, and reflections, which may tend to throw light on some of the dark passages of the history of the times of which that history treats. There is, indeed, one part of the MS. which will be, at this period, looked for with much greater interest than at any former one, which is that portion of it upon '*The Increase of those who came over with Governor Bradford.*' This we suppose to have reference to the immediate posterity of those who came over in the Mayflower. However this may be, there will be much anxiety to learn the extent to which Governor Bradford went in this matter."

So far as the editing of Bradford's History goes, that labor has been commendably performed, while it cannot but be admitted, it is presumed, that its printing is in bad taste: for there is no reason in printing an extensive work with all the abbreviations and contractions an Author felt it necessary to use at the time of writing. The Editor had only to ask himself, "Was that the style of printing in Bradford's time? Would Bradford so have printed his work?" To fac-simile a work is one thing, and to print it is quite another affair; therefore, it cannot be said, that Bradford is either one or the other. In the hurry of composition in all ages, many abbreviations are made use of, but to make all such in printing seems undesirable.

The work of the late Rev. Dr. Alexander Young contains a collection of valuable materials. I refer to that

entitled "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers." When writing this work, he supposed that he had found and included in it, Governor Bradford's History, while at that time only a portion of it had been discovered. Nearly all that is contained in his book had been a long time in print, and consists of small tracts. These, in themselves, are of the highest value, but, in the way he saw fit to print them, they lose much of that value. Had the tracts been printed as such, with Dr. Young's notes, it would have been well. As they stand in that book, Dr. Young is taken to be the author of all of them; for no one consulting the work can find out the writers of the different tracts without a perplexing loss of time. Mr. Deane erred in printing all of Bradford's *short &s*, *y^es*, *y^ms*, *y^ts*, &c., &c., while Dr. Young erred on the other extreme, by reducing the orthography of the Pilgrims to that of his own.

These strictures are made with no disrespect to those gentlemen, but for the benefit of other students and editors.

Since the publication of Bradford's History, there has been no separate history of the Old Colony published; yet it is gratifying to be able to announce that a son of that section of New England is industriously collecting materials for such a work. I take pleasure in this announcement, because the gentleman thus engaged, brings to the task, not only antiquarian zeal, but taste, as well as the other acquirements of a thorough historian.*

The time is perhaps not far distant when there will be published histories of all the Towns in the Old Colony. These, when done, if by competent hands, will essentially aid the general historian. When Mr. Baylies wrote, there

* The Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D. D. I hope he will pardon this free use of his name, for I have given it without asking his permission.

had been none, if we except Plymouth, and a few brief and partial details of some of them contained in the Massachusetts Historical Collections. They have not since been so numerous as could be wished; there being scarcely half a dozen but what will require to be done over again in a few years. The newspaper communications of Mr. Amos Otis, of Yarmouth Port, respecting the early families of Barnstable and that vicinity, should be embodied in some permanent form, as they are valuable for the future historian.

It was not intended to take a survey of the historical literature of the Old Colony, but only to glance at a few of the most prominent works. In this glance "the History of Cape Cod" must not be overlooked. This work was completed in 1862. Its author, the Rev. Frederick Freeman, informs me that he has spent many years in preparing it. Its magnitude is certainly the best evidence that much time must have been spent in collecting and arranging materials for so extensive a publication. It is of the royal octavo form, in two volumes, and contains 1608 pages. In the list of the Old Colony towns given in this Part of the work, frequent references to Mr. Freeman's labors may be seen.

THE TOWNS included in the Colony of New Plymouth from its first settlement till its union with Massachusetts; the time each was settled, as near as has been ascertained, and the time of their incorporation: Together with a few other facts important in their History.

It is a reproach to any town which has been settled a hundred years, not to have published its history.—*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register.*

BARNSTABLE

was settled about 1638, and incorporated in 1639. The name is a variation of the ancient *Barnstaple*, in the county

of Devon, England. Its history has not been written in a separate form. The largest essay towards it is contained in the Rev. Mr. Freeman's history of Cape Cod; from which it may be judged that materials are abundant.

BRIDGEWATER

began to be settled in 1650, and was incorporated in 1656. It was named for Bridgewater in Somersetshire, between the peoples of which two places an interesting correspondence took place about 1844, which was published. Bridgewater has a history, by an honored son, the Hon. Nahum Mitchell, published in 1840. Another, a more elaborate work (on a part of it) is now in course of publication.

BRISTOL

began to be settled in 1672, and was incorporated in 1680. It undoubtedly derived its name from the famous old maritime port of the same name in the west of England, whence probably came some of its early proprietors. By the road formerly traveled it was 63 miles from Boston, but it is now only 56. At the close of the Revolutionary war, 64 slaves were owned there. The territory was a long time in dispute between Plymouth and Rhode Island, but in 1746 it was adjudged to the latter colony. It has no history. Warren, formerly a part of it, has a brief work on its history, much of which is legitimately upon Bristol.

DUXBURY

was settled about 1628, and incorporated in 1637. It has been fortunate in its historian — Mr. Justin Winsor — who will doubtless perfect and enlarge his work, and in due time give the public the result of a mature judgment and a more careful investigation. The name was given to commemorate Duxbury in Lancashire, its principal early inhabitant,

—Capt. Miles Standish having come from that place. In the earliest list of old English towns in my possession, — 1668 — it is spelled *Duxburye*. Governor Bradford wrote *Duxberie*. For a long time it was often written *Duxborough*. Dr. Morse so gives it in his earliest geographical works.

EASTHAM

was settled in 1644, and incorporated in 1651. *Nauset*, its principal Indian settlement, was included in it. There is a history of Eastham by the Rev. Mr. Enoch Pratt, published in 1844, in connection with the history of Wellfleet and Orleans; both making but a thin octavo of 180 pages. Mr. Freeman has given the “Annals of Eastham,” in his History of Cape Cod, on a more extensive scale. Neither the historian nor the annalist inform their readers how the name of the town originated. It may be conjectured to have originated in respect to its situation in relation to some noted locality of the time. Dr. Morse, writing in 1797, said it contained 1,834 inhabitants. Scott, writing about three years later, puts the number at 659.

LITTLE COMPTON

was settled in 1674, and incorporated in 1682. Little Compton in Oxfordshire probably suggested the name. It was the *Sogkonate* of the Wampanoags, contracted by the English into *Saconet*, *Seconet*, *Seakonnet*, &c. In 1790 it had 1542 white inhabitants and 23 slaves. Ten years later the numbers were about the same. The slaves had decreased but one. Nothing historical of importance in print, respecting Little Compton, has been met with, excepting in works of a general character. Its history, if properly and well done, would be a work of much interest.

MARSHFIELD

was settled about 1640, and incorporated the same year. The name is first mentioned in the laws of the Colony in 1638. At first it went by the name of *Green's Harbour*, and *Rexhame*. The editor of Bradford, following Brigham, writes the former name *Green's Harbor*. It is first mentioned in the records as *Greenes Harbour*. The origin of this was probably *Green Harbour*, derived from the appearance of the place in or about the time of its exploration. The name *Rexhame* was perhaps an imitation of *Wroxham* in Norfolk. *Marshfield* is doubtless from the market town of the same name in Gloucestershire. There is no history of that town, rendered famous as the seat of the Winslows in former times, and of the Websters in our own. The little work by Miss Thomas, is of much interest, but it does not pretend to be a history.

MIDDLEBOROUGH

was settled about 1660, and incorporated the same year. It was the *Namasket* of the Wampanoags, and said by some to have been named Middleborough from its *middle* situation between the waters of Massachusetts and Narraganset bays. But it is more likely to have had its origin from Middleborough in Yorkshire; for the custom of naming places after those in the father-land, early prevailed all over New England. The history of the town has been successfully attempted in the third volume of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register.

PLYMOUTH,

settled December, 1820. So named from Plymouth in Devonshire. One of its Indian names was *Patuxit*. This seemed to have belonged to the immediate vicinity of

Plymouth Rock. Plymouth has no recent extended history. Materials for one are abundant. Remarks upon some of them have already been written. The first in importance is Gov. Bradford's History.—2d. Several tracts by others of the Pilgrims.—3d. Morton's Memorial.—4th. The annual and centennial Discourses on the events of the rise and progress of the Colony, and 5th, Dr. Thacher's history and Mr. Russell's several Guide books.

REHOBOTH,

settled about 1644, incorporated 1645. The part originally settled is since Attleborough. Hence for a history of Rehoboth we are to look as much to the history of one as the other. *Seaconk*, or *Seakonk*, was the Indian name of the territory, which was discarded by the settlers and a Bible name substituted. Rehoboth found an able historian in the lamented Mr. Leonard Bliss, and Attleborough in Mr. Daggett, now the Hon. John Daggett, who, as he lately informed us, has a new and enlarged edition ready for the press. Attleborough was not incorporated till 1694. Before that it was known as Rehoboth North Purchase.

ROCHESTER

was settled about 1638, and incorporated in 1686. It was doubtless named from the important old English town of the same name in Kent. It was the Indian *Sipican*, *Scipican*, *Seipican*, *Mattapoiset*, &c. Its history has not been written. In 1800 it contained 2,644 inhabitants. The late venerable divine and antiquary, Thomas Robbins, was many years minister there.

SANDWICH

was settled as early as 1637, and was incorporated in 1639. In the name chosen we have another indication whence

came some of its early proprietors ; namely, from Sandwich in Kent. Its Indian name, or one of them was *Pokesset*, *Pocasset*, &c., signifying that it had something in common with Tiverton, which was also called Pocasset. Elaborate Annals of Sandwich will be found in the History of Cape Cod.

SCITUATE

was settled in 1633, and incorporated in 1636. It retains its Indian name, though probably the Indians of 1620, were they now alive, would not recognize it as belonging to their language. Mr. Deane, its historian, says *Seteaat* signifies *Cold Brook*, a stream running through the town. In time it became *Satuit*, and at last *Scituate*. In noticing the town, all that need be said in this place is, it has one of the best local histories of the time of its publication—a handsome octavo of 406 pages.

SWANSEA

was settled in 1632, and incorporated in 1667. Its charter name being as above, but its inhabitants have allowed it to be corrupted into *Swansey*, and *Swanzey*, which is unpardonable. That the name was imported from Wales is certain, and the reason of its application here fully stated by the author of the foregoing "Memoir." Its Indian name, or one of them was *Wannamoisit*. It has no separate history, and yet there are few towns in the State more deserving one, or that would afford a more interesting one, if taken in hand by one fully qualified for the labor. Mr. Hayward, it is believed, is the first Gazetteer-maker to adopt the real name of *Swansea*.

TAUNTON

was settled in 1637, and incorporated in 1639. It was so named from Taunton in Somersetshire ; but when in pos-

session of the Indians it was called *Cohannet*. Though an important town from its first settlement, it has no history apart from fugitive publications. The "Ministry of Taunton," by the Rev. S. H. Emery, has some good materials, but a judicious history of the town is a desideratum. Unfortunately, its records were consumed by fire since Mr. Baylies wrote his "Memoir," owing to a want of care by the officers of the town. Hence the labors of Mr. Baylies, so far as respects Taunton, are of extra value to a historian.

YARMOUTH

was settled about 1638, and incorporated in 1639. The Indians call the spot, or some part of it, *Mattacheest*, *Mattachest*, or something like it. The English name was probably suggested, like others already mentioned, by *Yarmouth* in Norfolk, or that on the Isle of Wight. Its records, previous to 1677, are said to be lost. Its annals occupy about 170 pages of Mr. Freeman's work.

CHAPTER II.

Corrections and Additions.—The Writing Rock.—C. Mather to the Royal Society.—Wessagusset Colony.—Mr. Williamson.—William Bradford.—John Hampden.—Sir Henry Vane.—Executions for Murder.—Elizabeth Poole.—Pole or Poole Pedigree.—John Pool.—Indian Deed.—Sandwich.—A Royal Commissioner's Account of Plymouth Colony.—Martha's Vineyard.

PART the first, read Sir John *Wolstenholme*, on page 16, and at the foot of the same page read Sir Robert *Naunton*. On page 24, and elsewhere read *Southampton*. Instead of the list of Passengers at pages 28 and 29, Governor Bradford's list, as contained in his recently published history, should be substituted. At page 32, notice is taken of the "Writing Rock" in Taunton river, but the Author has not informed his readers that an engraving of the characters on the Rock was published by Dr. Cotton Mather in the year 1690, and that the fourth volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy* also contains an engraving of it. The estimate of its character and antiquity as expressed in the beforementioned page, is believed to be correct, and is the same as that adopted by the best antiquaries. Dr. Mather communicated his drawing and account of the inscription to the Royal Society of London. That Society inserted both in the fifth volume of its *Transactions*. The inscription was engraved upon a copper-plate, but no one would recognize its being the same as that before referred to as contained in the *Memoirs of the American Academy*. The importance of the hieroglyphics has much increased

in later years. The Doctor did not presume then (1690) to assign them to the language of any country, but said they were "unaccountable characters." And, indeed, if he truly copied them, no doubt the learned antiquaries of the Royal Society fully concurred with him.

The Indians spoken of as Santuckets, on page 44, are *Sautuckets*. The *n* being taken for *u* in the copy. At page 48 read *Haddam*. For Richard Butteridge on pages 29, 60, and elsewhere, read Richard *Britteridge*. The paper signed by the Indian Chiefs at Plymouth, the 13th of September, 1621, is different from the copy in Morton's Memorial, as respects the orthography of some of the names of the signers. The Memorial is the only authority for them, it would seem from its use by Prince.

The interesting account of the capture of a French ship by the Indians, before the settlement of Plymouth, is very briefly referred to at page 83. All that can now be learned of that event is contained in the new edition of Dr. I. Mather's Relation, pages 95 *et seq.*, published in 1864, in small quarto.

The Author pretty generally writes the name of the fourth Governor of Plymouth—*Prince*; while the Governor himself, so far as known to the writer, always wrote it *Prence*. Thus in the list of arrivals, page 85, the name is *corrected* to Prince, and so generally elsewhere. In the same list *Bompasse* is changed to "*Bumpus* and *Bump*." The French origin of the name is obvious. In Philip's war there was an Indian called John *Bump*, doubtless from his having lived with a family of the name of *Bump*; or, as was sometimes the case, he may have exchanged names with a member of the family. The writer dissents entirely from the notion that the Indian *John Bump* was ever *Wampees*, as Mr. Dexter supposes in his note in his edition of Church's History.

The story of the fate of the Wessaguscus Colony, briefly sketched in pages 99 to 101, will be found much elucidated by Dr. Increase Mather in his *Relation*, before referred to. That author appears to have been acquainted with Phinehas Pratt, and learned from him the particulars which he relates. Pratt also left a Narrative of the sad fate of the Colony, which will be found extracted in notes to the *Relation*; as now published; from which it will be readily perceived that Butler was not so far out of the way in his well known rhymes, charging the people of New England with using vicarious punishment on a particular occasion. It is not strange that the "Merry Gentleman," as Hubbard calls him, should not distinguish between one colony and another, when all were so new and necessarily almost unknown in England.

Who was "Mr. Williamson"? (PART I, page 65,) mentioned in the early narratives of the Pilgrims. No satisfactory answer has as yet appeared. That "Mr. Williamson" is a misprint in *Mourt's Relation*, for "Mr. Isaac Allerton," as has been confidently asserted by the author? of *The Chronicles of the Pilgrims*; may be possible, or even probable; but that is the most that can be said about it. The question is not settled, and perhaps never will be.

Page 72. "Bradford was a native of Ansterfield." Until the Rev. Joseph Hunter published his *Founders of New Plymouth*, nobody knew where the Governor was born, because nobody knew where *Ansterfield* was, for the good reason that there was no such place; but Mr. Hunter found that he was born at *Austerfield*. This discovery opened a door to the investigation of Pilgrim localities in England.

Page 110. The author should not have stated unqualifiedly that "the celebrated John Hampden" was among the Pilgrims on their arrival at Plymouth. It is true he

was of the right age for such an adventure, being born in 1594; entered college, (Oxford,) 1609; married, 1619. Lord Nugent, his biographer, does not seem to have kept very closely on his trail during the period in which he might have spent a few months with the Forefathers. Whoever this "Master John Hamden" was, it is certain he was not of the commonalty. In his peculiar manner, Mr. Young says, "John Hampden never was in America," which assertion he fortifies with a heavy argument in an extensive note. Yet with due deference I must give it as my opinion, that said argument does absolutely nothing towards proving his assertion. Indeed Hampden's biographers seem to have lost sight of him altogether, almost, from the time of his marriage till 1625. Neither the time of his arrival at, nor departure from this country is known. We know he was at Plymouth as late as the month of March, 1623. See Phineas Pratt's *Narrative in Mather's Relation*, edition 1864. Pratt calls him "Mr. Hamdin." Mr. J. W. Dean, in his paper on the *Embarkation of Cromwell and his Friends for N. England*, elsewhere referred to, notices the conjecture respecting John Hampden's being at Plymouth. He seems sceptical, but advances no new objection to the affirmative. That the early historians, as the Mathers, Prince, and Hutchinson, do not recognise in the gentleman at Plymouth the patriot Hampden, I do not look upon as any argument against it. It is simply plain that they gave the matter no thought. Had they considered it of any consequence, they would assuredly have given their opinion as to who this John *Hamden* was, or who he was not. It is pretty certain that the patriot was a resident of London between 1619 and 1623. On a survey of what is at present known on the subject, it seems quite probable that Dr. Belknap conjectured ration-

ally; and that there is more than a probability that the afterwards renowned gentleman was once in New England.

Page 203. The Editor is unable to discover where the Author found facts to warrant his assertion respecting "the wily and subtle disposition" of Sir Henry Vane. On the contrary, much is to be seen going to prove that he was remarkable for his manly virtues, and as free from anything like political intrigue as any gentleman who came to these shores. Some New England writers, from reading tory historians, cannot rid themselves of prejudices imbibed from that source.

Respecting the design of Cromwell, Hampden, Pym, and Hazelrig [Heslerigge] and others to emigrate to New England, there are conflicting accounts. The subject has been fully investigated recently, by Mr. J. Ward Dean, and the result is printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for April, 1866. Mr. Dean inclines to the opinion that no actual embarkation was made by those gentlemen, and the facts he has collected seem to warrant that opinion. All that the facts appear to justify, is, that some of the gentlemen mentioned had serious thoughts of emigrating to this country, and that some had actually made preparations to that end, and that others would have made preparations in the event that certain contingencies fell out adverse to what they hoped respecting the proceedings of certain political parties.

Page 244-5. The names of the parties implicated in the murder of an Indian, will be found in Mather's *Relation*, 186-7, edition 1864. There were four present when the Indian was killed, but of only three of them are the names given, namely, Arthur Peach, who was the principal, John "Barnes his man," Thomas Jackson, and Richard Slinnings. Which it was that belonged to Pascataqua, does not appear. He was not brought to justice. The

Author misapprehends in saying John Barnes was one of the murderers. According to Roger Williams (Mr. Baylies' authority) it was a servant of Barnes who was one of the four. That John Barnes was not one of the murderers is quite clear, as the only person of that name at Plymouth, of whom we have any knowledge, was living many years after the execution of those murderers.

ELIZABETH POOLE.

It is somewhat singular that this lady, of so much celebrity, has found no one among the many writers on New England, able to give any account of her family and pedigree. That she was the daughter of the "worshipful" Sir William Pole, of Shute, in Devonshire, is quite certain. It is not strange that writers of pedigrees in England say nothing generally about those branches which fled to New England; for the reason that they were become Puritans, and were unworthy of remembrance by their relatives of the established church. Before she emigrated to this country very little is known of her. During her residence in New England, Mr. Baylies has given nearly all that is known. Of her immediate progenitors in England, I am able to give the following account, derived, in all essential particulars, from themselves. By which it will be seen that Mistress Pool was born about 1587, and that she came over before 1637; perhaps immediately after the death of her father, "which happened Feb. 9th, 1635." [1635-6.]

The name appears to have been originally *De la Pole*, as will be noted before closing this account of the founderess of Taunton.

Sir WILLIAM POLE, of Poole-Hall, =
in Wirral, Co. of Chester. (1.)

Arthur, second son, was the first of the family—Elizabeth, dau. and heir of John Pole, Co. of Devon, the granda. and great-granda., of which John Pole were M. P.'s for the City of Exeter, 12 Ed. III. who settled in Devonshire. (2.)

John, Esq., of Ford, in the Parish of Musbury,—Alice, dau. Robert Coade, Esq., of Gidleigh, Co. Cornwall.

John, Esq., also of Ford. — Edith, dau. Robert Titherly, of Titherly, in Co. Dorset.

William, Esq., also of Ford, — Agnes, dau. of John Drake, Esq., of Ash Co. Devon. (3.)

William, Esq., of Shute, in Catherine, dau. Alexander Popham, Esq., of Huntworth, Co. Somerset, sister of Sir John the parish of Musbury. Popham, Knt., Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

1st, Mary, dau. and col. of — William, Sir, the renowned antiquary, who died the 9th — 24, Jane, dau. of Sir William Symes, of Chard, and Sir William Peryam, of February, 1635, in the 74th year of his age. Hence he was born in 1561 (74.)
Knt, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

No issue by this marriage.

1, William, d. in infancy.
2, John, b. a. 1590, afterwards Sir John, heir, from whom this account of the Poles of Ireland, his brothers and sisters is derived.
3, Periam, b. a. 1592. Seated at Talyron, near Honiton, anciently called the Poles of Ireland.
4, William, b. a. 1594, went to New England, where he fell, Dec. 1674.
5, Arthur, d. in infancy from a fall, 1695.
6, Francis, b. a. 1627. He was Parson of Gregory in Cornwall.
7, Mary, m. 1st, Mr. Nicholas Hurst, of Oxton, Co. of Devon; 2d, Francis, second son of Sr. Wm. Courtney, of Powderham.
8, Catherine, M^r. dau, m. Southcott, the same probably mentioned in vol. i. p. 198.
9, Elizabeth, b. a. 1387, went to New England. See vol. i. pp. 236-7.
10, Anne, b. a. 1559, m. Edmond Wolond, Esq. of Bovey, Co. Dev.
11, Eleanor, b. a. 1583, m. Anthony Floyer, of Hovyes, Co. Devon.

(1) This pedigree is not carried back as far as our materials go, and commences at the 7th generation from the first that is known. The great Antiquary himself says, under the head POLE,—it was “in the parish of Tiverton, the ancient possession [of the Pools] from the Conquest,” — first, “William de Pola, Nicholas de Pola, a baron, Richard, Sir Maurice, Sir Walter, Antony de la Pole, which gave the addition of Antony unto this place to distinguish it from other places called Pole in this shire. He had issue Gilbert and Christian. In the 8th year of Edward I, Walter de Pole, my ancestor, held question for this land with William le Grant,” &c. *Collections*, 213. It will be seen, on reference to Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, 636, that he much enlarges upon and elucidates Sir William’s Original Notes.

(2) Prince has it that this “Arthur Pole was son of Sir John, Knt., Vice Admiral of the West part of England; which Sir John was younger son of Sir John Pole of Pole in Wirral, Co. of Chester.” *Worthies of Devon*, 636.— See also Sir William Pole’s *Collections*, 122.

(3) John Drake was son of John by Agnes Kelloway; grand-son of John of Otterton, Esq.; great-grand-son of that John who married a Crewes of Crewes Morchard. Besides Agnes, who married William Pole, there were John Drake, Esq., of Axmouth; Richard Drake, Esq., of Surrey, Robert Drake, of Wiscomb, and Thomas, of Hertford. Besides these children, I find by the Visitations—*Harlaam MSS.*, Vol. 1141, p. 46^b, two sons, named John, and Gilbert of Pratshead or Spratsshays. *Orig. Visit* of 1623. This is also according to Sir William Pole, who says the younger of the Johns settled at Exeter, and “was a great merchant man.” Married Margaret, daughter of William Hurst of Exeter, and widow of Richard Martyn, by whom he had two daughters, between whom a great

estate was divided; one of these married Thomas Rayment of Chard. — *Colls. ib.* 154. The other John Drake, (the older brother and oldest of the sons,) possessed Ashe, long a noted seat of the Drakes. John Drake, Esq., of Ashe, married Amy, daughter of Roger Grenville. He died October 4th, 1558, leaving, besides other children, Sir Bernard Drake, Kt., who by Gertrude, daughter of Bartholomew Fortescue, Esq., had John Drake, Esq., of Mount Drake and Ashe, one of the Council of Plymouth. See Vol. I, p. 165. It is also worthy of note that Sir Henry Rosewell, who married his daughter Mary, and Sir John Young, who married his niece, were patentees for planting New England. *Ibid.** 198.

(4) As there are doubtless many in this country who may hereafter be interested in learning they are descended from so distinguished a benefactor as Sir William Pole, the following notice of him is added, from Prince's Worthies. That author's intimacy with the immediate descendants of Sir William, makes his account of the greatest value:— "Having had for some time the benefit of an academical education in Exeter College, Oxon, and after that an inclination to study the law, he removed thence to the inns of Court, and became a member of the Inner Temple; where he grew very eminent for his skill and knowledge in that honourable profession: insomuch, in the third [33d?] year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was chosen Autumn-reader of his house, anno 1560."* From the same source it appears that he was Chief Justice of the Com. Pleas. "After this, in the 7th (37th?) of Elizabeth he

* It is remarkable that so great an anachronism should not have been noticed by the Editors of Sir William Pole's *Collections*; for, according to the pedigree deposited in the College of Arms, Sir William was not born till the *third year of Elizabeth's reign*! If *thirty-third* be substituted for *third*, that particular statement might be true.

was chosen treasurer of the Inner Temple, a place of great trust and honour. He resided (during his father's life-time at least) at Colcombe, in the parish of Coliton. Being thus settled here, he lived in great reputation, and became an ornament to, and a very useful person in, his county; serving as Justice of the Peace, and High Sheriff in the last year of the Queen and first of James I.; at which time one of my ancestors, John Prince, of Nower, near Axminster, had the honour to execute that office under him. About four years after which he was knighted at Whitehall, Feb. 15, 1606." "He was endowed with excellent parts, and adorned with great accomplishments; and, as what enamels and adds loveliness to all the other, beautified with a very civil, courtous and obliging carriage and disposition, which is indeed the true gentility. He was learned also, not only in the laws, but in other polite matters; he was very laborious in the study of antiquities, especially those of his own county, and a great lover of that venerable employment. A sufficient confirmation of which we have in many volumes on this argument, which he left behind him." The family arms—"Or a stag's face gules."

In the note page 287, vol. II., John Pool is mentioned as having been "a partizan officer in Philip's war." This was guessing very much at random. It appears from the Treasurer's books, that the Captain Pool who served in that war was Captain Jonathan Pool, of a different family. The statement respecting the "partizan officer," is copied in the "Ministry of Taunton," i. 47. John, the son of William of Dorchester, married Elizabeth, daughter of the well known Mr. William Brenton, the large landed proprietor so often mentioned in the Histories of Plymouth and Rhode Island. By a clerical or typographical error, John Pool is said (New England Historical Genealogical

Register, v. 402) to have married Elizabeth *Benton*. The names of three of their children, *John*, *Elizabeth*, and *Courtney*, appear among the baptisms of the Old South church in Boston.

Among the old papers at the State-house, there is one containing the following:—"Upon the motion of Capt. Edward Hutchinson, that Thomas Stocker might have a commission as quartermaster to the troope, vnder his command, find in Court alledging he was noe free man; upon which this Court doe not consent to grãnt it; but doth Nominate, apointe and Impower Jonathan Poole Quartermaster vnto the saide Troope, and do order that a Comision be issued vnto him for that end.

"W. TORRY, *Cleric*.

"8: 4: 1671."

This was doubtless the "partizan officer" spoken of by the author.

There was a Robert Poole in the country (probably Boston) in the time of Philip's war. I find nothing further concerning him, only that his servant, John Brandon, was pressed into the army; and being shot in the shoulder, lost the use of his arm in consequence. Thus disabled, his master demanded of him pay for his time.—*Mass. Archives*.

At Page 310, Part I, it is said,—“The limits both of Sandwich and Barnstable have been unaltered.”—There is nothing to indicate at what period this was the case. From a paper of the time it appears that the boundary was extended in one direction by a purchase which runs thus:—“August 26th, 1644. Witness these Presents, that Secunk, Indian, now dwelling att South Sea, do sell and make over unto the Town of Barnstable, all the said Lands and Meadows lying betwixt the Bounds of Sandwich and the

Bounds of Poxet, another Indian, in Consideration of four Coats and three Axes. In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my Hand the Day and Year above written.

The mark of —) SECUNK.

Witnesses: — Thō Dimick, Anthony + Anable, Henry Cob, Thō Allyn, John Smith, Lawrence Willis.

Out of the original. *Attest* THOS. HINCKLEY *Assist.*"

By the Records, (as published,) Vol. v. pages 104-5, it appears that the above sale was questioned in 1672, and said land was decided to belong to Barnstable, fully sustaining the Deed. Secunk was then living, and appeared in court "with his two sonnes." The land in question was then called *Scanton Neck*, and "was proued by seuerall Indian testimonies" to have belonged to Secunk, and his two sons, "and was their father's, their grandfather's, and their great-grandfather's," &c.

Part II. page 69. — As what the Royal Commissioner said of Plymouth Colony is brief, it is here extracted. It is dated, 12 October, 1676, just one month after the death of King Philip. In his account he speaks of Connecticut and Plymouth together:—"The laws of England are there observed with such of their own as are not contradictory thereto. The oath of allegiance is taken by every magistrate and officer, whether civill or military, and by all freemen. All commissions, proclamations, writs and summons are in his Majesties name. The number of inhabitants in both colonies are computed to be 80000 soules. There are noe slaves, only hired servants. The chief

professions are farmers, graziers and fishermen. Very few merchants, they being supplied with all forreign commodities from Boston.

"The militia consists of 4 troops of horse and 5 regiments of foot, who are well armed and disciplined. No old Soldiers among them. The number fit to bear arms 20000.

"The country is very fertile and pleasant and abounds in corn and cattle, and produceth very good horses, the best in all N. E. which are sent into several parts. There is great abundance of tarre and excellent good hemp, and there is made good quantity of whale oyle, which fish they take upon the coasts. The act of Navigation is duely observed. No stranger is admitted to come into their ports. They have no ships of burthen, but only small ketches and barkes, to trade along the coasts and take fish.

"They are generally very loyall and good people, and doe upon all occasions expresse great love to the person and government of his Majestie, and doe heartily wish that his Majesties authority were established over the whole country.

"The present governor of New Plymouth is Josiah Winslow, Esq; a person eminently popular and beloved in all the colonies of N. E. and was generall of the united forces against the Indians.

"The losses which these colonies have sustayned by the Indian warre is estimated to be near 100,000 pound."—Hutchinson, *Coll. Orig. Papers*, 502–3.

P. ii. Page 133. In the note on that page it is asserted that Martha's Vineyard was so called from Captain Pring, whose baptismal name was *Martin*. It may be sufficient to say, that this is merely conjectural. The name was

conferred a year before Pring came on the coast. See *Hist. and Antiqs. Boston*, 14, and references.

Page 176. For *Francis* Danforth read *Thomas*.

Page 234. The Indian who conveyed land to William Brenton, in connection with King Philip, named *Wootom-kanuske*, was the wife of that chief. See *Book of the Indians*, Book iii. 10, 13, 15, 55, edition 1841. The spelling should undoubtedly be *Wootonikanuske*—the *ni* being taken for an *m*.

CHAPTER III.

The Plymouth Patent on the Kennebeck.—John Cook of Dartmouth.—Note on the Cook family.—King Philip's Deed to Brenton and others, 1672.—The same to Southworth.—Southworth's Release to Taunton. The Author's Reproaches against Massachusetts Renewed.—Notice of Benjamin Scott's Lecture on the Pilgrims.—Note on the Commencement of Philip's War.—A Fast for the pending Hostilities.

THE KENNEBECK PATENT.

THE Author has not given a very satisfactory account of the Kennebeck Patent. He probably gave what his materials afforded. In Part I, page 150, we find that the Patent was obtained as early as 1628, and that immediately thereafter the Plymouth people took possession of the country and erected a trading house there. At page 191 and 192 is a description of the territory. In Part II, page 16, we are told that a government was established there by the Colony of Plymouth, and that Thomas Southworth was its Governor, or agent ; but at what time that government was set up we are not informed with any exactness, but from other sources it is found to have been in 1654.

The following conveyances, and accompanying Map cannot fail to be of paramount interest to the historian of Plymouth, as well as to the investigator of the progress of the settlement of the valley of the Kennebeck ; especially as these are here for the first time produced in history. These show, step by step, the origin and termination of Plymouth's possessions on the Kennebeck. The Author mentions the sale of the Patent, but in so loose a way that

the time of it is quite uncertain. Here it is found that a bargain was made, and a deed dated, Oct. 27th, 1661, but not executed till June 15th, 1665, and not recorded until 54 years later. From the same documents the reason is given why such facts and a plan was prepared in 1752; namely, "To open the eyes of people, and to undeceive those persons that have been unwarily led to take up under the Plymouth Company's claim." Many purchases had been made of the Indians, by people who were ignorant of the extent of the Plymouth Patent. The following letter-press, on a broad-side, accompanied the Map:—*

"At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Township of *Brunswick* in the County of *York*, duly warned according to Law, by Adjournment, on *January 4th*, 1753; the following vote was passed.

"Whereas in order to open the Eyes of People, and to undeceive those persons that have been unwarily led to take up under the Plymouth Company's Claim, to Lands in *Kennebeck River*, it seems necessary that the respective Deeds or Extracts of their bounds, and of the Abutters both above and below their said Bounds, both from original Deeds and attested Copies, be printed, together with the annexed Plan, the same being a very True survey of *Sagadahock and Kennebeck Rivers*, with the Lands adjacent, to prevent any ignorant Persons being deluded by the said Plymouth Company's Claim. Voted, That the sundry Extracts with the aforesaid Plan, be forthwith printed at the Expense of this Propriety.

"A true Copy examined,

"By *BELCHER NOYES*, *Proprietor's Clerk.*"

* Orthography, capitals and italics correspond with the original.

“*Extract from the Plymouth Pattent, dated January 16th, 1629, viz.*

“ ‘ All that Tract of Land or Part of *New England* in *America* aforesaid, which lieth within or between, and extendeth itself from the utmost Limits of *Cobbaseconte* alias *Comaseconte*, which adjoyneth to the River of *Kenebeck* alias *Keneberkike*, TOWARDS the Western Ocean ;* and a Place called the Falls at *Negumkike* in *America* aforesaid ; and the Space of fifteen English Miles on each Side of the said River called *Kenebeck* ; and all the said River called *Kenebeck*, that lies within the said Limits and Bounds, Eastwards, Westwards, Northwards, Southwards, last above mentioned. And all Lands, Grounds, Soils, Rivers, Waters, Fishings, Hereditaments, and Profits whatsoever, scituate, lying and being, arising, happening or accruing, or which shall arise, happen or accrue, in or within the said Limits and Bounds, or either of them together, with free Ingress, Egress and Regress, with Ships, Boats, Shallops and other Vessels, from the Sea commonly called the Western Ocean, to the River called *Kenebeck*, and from the said River, to the said Western Ocean.’ ” “*Note.* Said Pattent does not bound them on, or upon the Western Ocean.

“ *Extract of an Indian Deed to the Plymouth Colony, appointed to be recorded by the said Colony of Plymouth, dated August 8. 1648, viz.*

“ ‘ All the Lands on both sides of the River *Kenebeck*, from *Cushenoc* upwards to *Wesserunsett* : To have and to hold to them, their Heirs and Assigns for ever.’ ” — “*Note.* It is to be observed from *Cushenoc* upwards, but not down said River of *Kenebeck* nor *Sagadahock*.’ ”

* The Atlantic Ocean was formerly thus denominated.

“*Extract of an Indian Deed to the Plymouth Colony, appointed to be reeorded by the said Colony of Plymouth, dated September 10. 1653, viz.*

“‘All that Tract of Land from *Cobbaseconte* unto a Place where I now dwell, called *Usserunscutt*.’” “*Note, It may be supposed Wesserunsett and Usserunscutt to be one and the same Place.*

“*Extract of the Plymouth Colony Deed to Messrs. Antipas Boyes, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle, and John Winslow, now called the Plymouth Company, dated October 27. 1661, not Sealed nor Delivered ’till June 15. 1665, nor Recorded ’till October 22. 1719, viz.*

“‘All those our Lands lying and being in the River *Kenebeck*, bounded as follows, *viz.* All that our Tract of Land in *America*, which lieth in or between, and extendeth from the utmost bounds of *Cobbasecontè*, alias *Comasecontè*, which adjoineth to the River *Kenebeck*, alias *Keneberkike*, towards the Western Ocean, and a Place called the Falls at *Neguambeck*, in *America* aforesaid; and the Space of fifteen English Miles on both Sides said River, commonly called *Kenebeck* River. And all the said River called *Kenebeck* River, that lieth within the said Limits and Bounds, Eastward, Westward, Northward and Southward: And all Lands, Grounds, Soils, Rivers, Tradings, Fishings, Hereditaments and Profits whatsoever, lying or being within said Limits and Bounds, together with free Ingress, Egress and Regress, with Ships, Boats, Shallops or other vessels from the Sea commonly called the Western Ocean, to the said River called *Kenebeck*, and from the said River to the said Western Ocean. As also all the Lands from *Cusheno* upwards to *Wesserunsick*, bought by us of *Monquine*, alias *Nattahanada* as appears by a Deed dated August 8. 1648, and consented unto by *Essemenosque*, *Agado*

Domago, and *Tassuck*, chief Men of the Place, and Proprietors thereof.' " — " *Note*, Which Description comprehends no more than the Lands lying in or between *Cobbaseconte* and *Negumkike* Falls, or *Nequambeck*; and fifteen Miles on each Side the River.

" *Extract of an Indian Deed to said Plymouth Company, dated July 8, 1665, explaining and confirming the Bounds of their Deed from the Plymouth Colony, which was given one Month after they bought of the Colony of Plymouth, viz.*

" 'All the Lands upon both Sides of *Kenebeck* River, from the lower End of *Cobbaseconte* to the upper Side of *Wesserunsick*. To have and to hold to them their Heirs for ever.' " — " *Note*, Compare this Deed with the above *Indian* Deed, dated *September, 10, 1653*, it appears that *Cabbaseconte*, is the lowermost Bounds of said Company's Claim. *The above is the whole of the Plymouth Company's Title truly Stated.*"

[What follows is on the same broad-side, separated from the above only by a border line.]

" The following is the Title of *Sir Byby* Lake*, deceased, *Edward Hutchinson*, Esq; deceased and others, below *Cobbaseconte*, and above *Negumkike* Falls or *Nequambeck*, being one and the same Place. — *Extract of an Indian Deed to Christopher Lawson, dated October 10, 1649, sixteen years before said Antipas Boyes and others, bought of the*

* This given name is spelt variously. According to Wotton it appears that *Sir Byby* had his grant of baronetcy in 1711, derived from *Sir Edward Lake*. In the Baronetcy, (published in 1727,) the name stands *Bibye Lake*. He was then of the Middle Temple. His heirship to Eastern lands was by *Capt. Thomas Lake*, who was massacred at *Arrowsick Island* by the Indians, August 14th, 1676.

Plymouth Colony, now owned by Deed from said Lawson, dated July 2nd, 1650, above One Hundred Years since, viz.

“A Certain Parcel of Land scituated and lying upon the River *Kenebeck*, which Bounds and Limits extends from the Northermost Part of a certain Place commonly called, and known by the Name of *Caperseconty*, and on both Sides of the aforesaid River *Kenebeck*, reaching ten Miles into the Woods on each side of the River East and West, and so extending Southward unto a certain Place called *Swan-Alley*, which is about four Leagues in Length North and South; together with all Ponds, &c.”—“*Note*, By this it appears that *Cobbaseconte* is the Bounds between the *Plymouth Company*, and *Sir Byby Lake*, and others.

“*Extract of an Indian Deed to said Lawson and others, dated May 24, 1653, now owned by Sir Byby Lake, deceased, and others, viz.*

“All that Land lying and being on both Sides of the River *Kenebeck*, as followeth; namely, From the lower End of a certain Place called by the name of *Neagumkett*, which is a little below some Islands that are in the River, and so going up the River four Miles above the Falls of *Toconock*, reaching ten miles into the Woods, of both Sides of the River, (with the like priviledges as we formerly granted to *Christopher Lawson*, of the Land about *Neaump-kee*, as by our Deed of Sale appears.)”—“There are also other *Indian Deeds*, mentioned on the Plan annexed.—*Note*. This determines where *Neagumkett* is. So that the foregoing Extracts sufficiently demonstrate, that the Claim of the *Plymouth Company* begins at *Cobbaseconte*, and goes up the River of *Kennebeck*, and cannot extend below said *Cobbaseconte*, which is their lowermost Bounds towards the Western Ocean.”

ADDITION TO THE HISTORY OF DARTMOUTH.

To the scanty notice of Dartmouth, (in Part II, page 230,) the following addition may not be without interest : —“Petition of John Cook,* of Dartmouth. Your Petitioner, one of the antientest inhabitants in this province, who arrived from England, in the County of Plimouth, Anno Dom. 1620, with his father, who was one of the first purchasers and Old Comers, who layd out and expended a considerable estate in settling the first plantation ; and [your] petitioner being much conversant-with the Sachems Papamoe, Mochacom, Achawannomet, who had a considerable tract of land situate between Dartmouth and Sandwich, the chief of them being Papamoe, was indebted to your petitioner, and by reason of the obligation he had to, and kindness he had for, your petitioner, did often in his lifetime, by word and deed, and before his death, will the said land to your petitioner and Mr. William Bradford,” with the condition that they should care for his children. The petitioner complains that “the said Papamos children have had no benefit of that land, altho’ they were very servicable in the late Indian warr against our enemies under Major Church.” What success the petitioner met with, if any, does not appear. The petition is dated, 6 April, 1693.—*Mass. Archives*.

BRENTON’S PURCHASE.

Mention is made at page 275, of Part II, of a purchase of lands of King Philip, in 1672, by William Brenton and

* The Cook family in 1627, were Francis, Hester, his wife ; John, Jacob, Jane, Hester, and Mary. *Plym. Col. Records*, xii, 9.—John, “the younger,” m. Sarah, dau. of Eliz. Warren, 1637.—*ib.* 27. John the Petitioner was son of Francis. The historian of Dartmouth will find he was an important man of that town. Mr. Dexter, in his edition of Church’s History, has a considerable note on the Cooks ; John’s house having been destroyed in the time of Philip’s war.

his Associates. In the same sentence, by inadvertence, the Author says the same purchase was made in 1673. As this purchase afterwards constituted the town of Dighton, it deserves a more particular notice; by which it will be seen, that the date 1672 is the true one. The deed is in the usual form of that day, and bears date, Sept. 28th, 1672, a copy being in the possession of the writer. Philip is styled of "*Pobanobit*, in the Colony of New Plymouth." The other party consisted of "*William Brenton, William Harvey, Walter Deane, Richard Williams, and John Richards*, all of the town of Taunton." The tract deeded is thus described:—"Scituate and lying southerly from the town of Taunton, containing three English miles one way, and four the other way: Beginning at the Three-Mile-River, alias Nonesticomek, and is from the said River to range three miles south by west, and from the extent of the Three miles to range four miles west by north from the great river, so called, into the woods, and from the said extent of that four miles to range north and by east until it meet with the antient bounds of Taunton aforesaid, and bounded easterly with the aforesaid Great River," &c. Signed by the marks of *Philip*, alias *Metacom*, *Capt. Annawon*, *Vnkampahoonet*, *Winnashum Nimrod*, and *Cheenaugson*. The witnesses were — *Joseph Wilbore, John Winchcome*, and *Thomas Indian*, alias *Sanksuet*. It was acknowledged by Philip, October 1st, same year, before "*Constant Southworth*, Assistant." An endorsement upon it, shows that it was recorded by "*Nathaniel Morton*, Secretary," but the date of the record does not appear; nor does the Deed itself find a place in the ostentatious edition of the Plymouth Colony Records, as one might expect.

A few days after the foregoing Deed was executed, namely, on October 1st, 1672, another important one was given by King Philip; from the original of which the

following abstract is taken :—" Know," &c., " that where as I Phillip alias Metacome, cheife Sachim of Pakanockit . . . have morgaged four miles square of land southwardly of Taunton bounds, to Mr. Constant Southworth, the other mile in breadth and four miles in length adjoyning to the three miles in breadth and four miles in length already sould to Taunton men I the said Philip in consideration of £47," &c.

This is, like the last, signed with a P, the mark of Philip. The deed itself appears to be in the autograph of *Thomas Leonard*, the first witness of the deed. The other witnesses were *Hugh Cole*, *Munashum*, alias *Nimrod*, *Wonckompawhan* and *Capt. Annawan*.

The same day, viz. Oct. 1st, the following, in the hand of the Recorder, is on the Deed :—" This Deed of sale was acknowledged by Phillip alias Metacome, before me. Constant Southworth, *Assist.*"

This acknowledgment is followed by another, in the autograph of John Alden, in these words :—" This deed was acknowledged this : 1 : 9 : 72 before me Joⁿ: Alden, *Asst.*"

Then follows in Secretary Morton's hand :—" This Deed is recorded according to order p^r. me Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth. See great book of evidences of land enroled, folio 249."

Upon the back of the deed Mr. Southworth signs a release of the land purchased of Philip on the 1st of Oct. 1672, to a " committee of the towne of Taunton," consisting of " Mr. William Brenton, William Harvey, James Walker, Richard Williams, Walter Deane, Leift. George Macey, and John Richmond, vnto them in the behalfe of them selues and their heirs for the only proper vse and

behoof of the Free Inhabitants of the said Towne of Taunton" [a line illegible.]

Signed CONSTANT SOUTHWORTH, *Treas.*

"Signed in the presence of Nath: Morton and Benjamin Church."

"This assignment was acknowledged this 6: 1: 73 before me Joⁿ Alden, *Asist.* By Mr. Southworth treas^r N. P."

The last above were recorded as before, in the "great booke," folio 249. The Assignment is in Morton's hand, who, with "Benjamin Church," witnessed it.

COMPARATIVE INTOLERANCE IN THE OLD COLONY.

It will be noticed that the Author often remarks, (as in Part III, page 22,) with considerable bitterness upon what he conceives to be the overbearing, domineering and persecuting spirit of Massachusetts. Sometimes his remarks are just; but he shows too much the spirit of an advocate at other times; as though Puritanism and persecution were synonymous terms. It must be apparent to the attentive observer, that there was as much of a spirit of persecution in many of the Old Colonists, as in some who resided upon the peninsula of Shawmut. In this averment it must be understood that, taking each Colony as a whole, there was indeed a far more general propensity to persecute in Massachusetts than in Plymouth. This opinion is given, to correct, as far as it may, an impression that has become wide spread, that Massachusetts contained all the persecutors and bigots this side of the Atlantic. It will be seen in the following pages, that whipping Quakers, tying offenders "neck and heels," and banishment, to say nothing

of bad faith towards Indians, selling them as slaves, and so forth, were practices in the Old Colony. Nor is this noticed with any desire to elevate the one colony or to degrade the other ; but only, as before remarked, that each may be measured as they stood in the times of intolerance and persecution.

Occasion has been here taken to express an opinion believed to be fully in accordance with history, because an elaborate recent attempt, on the other side of the ocean, has been made, not at all conformable to the true state of facts respecting the premises. This reference is made to the very able Lecture of Benjamin Scott, Esq., Chamberlain of the City of London, delivered on the 18th of January last, (1866,) at the Friend's Institute of that City ; the author of the lecture having confined himself too exclusively to Quaker writers, and apologetical historians of the Old Colony ; yet as a whole, Mr. Scott's lecture is a performance of great merit.

COMMENCEMENT OF PHILIP'S WAR.

Respecting the commencement of Philip's war, the author's account is somewhat contradictory. The clearest and most succinct contemporaneous narrative in existence, is doubtless that drawn up by Governors Winslow and Hinckley, and published by Dr. Increase Mather in a Postscript to his Brief History. From this, and all the other known accounts of the same period, the present Editor attempted to make a full and more perfect narrative than had hitherto appeared, and the result may be seen in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, for January, and April, 1858, (Volume XII,) and Jan. 1861, (Vol. XV.) The proclamation for a Fast, dated on the 22d of June, on the very eve of the outbreak, being of great importance to the exact understanding of the events as they actually occurred,

is here given from the manuscript original. The early writers were too regardless of dates, and given names of individuals. It is evident that they viewed them of much less importance than time has shown them to be. Hence the great uncertainty there often is in making researches. Dates and names should be regarded as strictly in history as a geometer regards the quantity of his angle in calculating his area; for dates and names are as essential in all narrations as are degrees and minutes in trigonometrical calculations. Our Author was not as careful in these matters as he might have been; nor indeed was he quite up to his own time in these particulars.

THE FAST PROCLAMATION OF THE 22^D OF JUNE, 1675.

“The Councell of this Colony taking into the[ir] [ser]ious consideration the awfull hand of God upon us in permitting the heathen to carry it with in[solenc]y and rage against us, appearing in their great hostile preparations and also some outrageous carriages as at all other times, so in spetiall the last Lords day, to some of our neighbours at Swanzey, to the apparent hazard, if not the reall losse of the lives of some already; doe therefore Judge it a solemne duty incumbent upon us all to lay to heart this dispensation of God, and doe therefore commend it to all the Churches, ministers, and people of this Colony to set apart the 24 day of this instant, June, which is the 5th day of this weeke, wherein to humble ourselves before the Lord, for all those sins whereby we have provoked our good God sadly to interrupt our peace and comfort, and also humbly to seeke his face and favour in the gracious continuance of our peace and priviledges, and that the Lord would be intreated to goe forth with our forces, and blesse, succeed and prosper them; delivering them from the hands of his and our enemies, subduing the

heathen before them, and returning them all in safety to their families and relations againe ; and that God would prepare all our hearts humbly to submit to his good pleasure concerning.

“ By order of the Court of N. [Plymouth]

“ NATHANIEL MORTON, *Secy.*

“ Plymouth, June 22d, 1675.”

CHAPTER IV.

Original Letter of War News.—Appleton at Deerfield.—Lothrop's Disaster.—Mosely's Fight.—Cornelius Consort.—Executions.—Letter of Gov. Winslow.

LETTER OF JOHN COTTON, OF PLYMOUTH.

THE following *news letter* was copied many years ago from the original. The superscription is wanting. The blanks are occasioned by the obliteration of the paper. Its importance will not be over-estimated, when it is considered how few of such letters are to be met with at this period, and of that war of terrible uncertainty which for so many months hung over the country. It has never been published, probably, excepting some extracts in the Book of the Indians. The words in brackets are supplied conjecturally when in Italics. Those not in Italic type are emendatory.

" Boston, Sept. 23: 1675.

" Reverende Honoured Sir,

" Mr. Hinckley hath written to you, soe that I need not write of many things occurring before I came hither. On Sept. 12: the Sabbath, Capt. *Appleton* at Deerfield, deserted one of the three garrison houses to goe to meeting at one of the others, only left one man there. In the time of worship the Indians assaulted that house, burnt it, the man in it not heard of since.* Capt. *Appleton* did, with his

* I do not find this affair anywhere else related.

company come upon the backside of the Indians, and drave them away. Capt. *Lathrop*, with about 46 men, went to Dearfield with carts to fetch away their thresht corn, wheat, etc. In their return with carts and people, they were set upon by the Indians,—Capt. *Lathrop* slaine and all his men, [save] only two; 18 men of Dearfield slaine also. The Indians cut the bags of wheate in pieces and the beds. Capt. *Mosely* came up to the fight,—[had] two of his men slaine, and eleven wounded. The Indians said to him, ‘Come *Mosely*, Come,—you seeke Indians,—you want Indians,—here’s Indians enough for you.’ *Mosely* fought them from eleven a-clock till the evening. He had with him about 70 men. He judged the Enemy were about 1000. *Mosely* did retreat. Major *Treat* with about 100 souldiers and Monheagin Indians, came up to the fight and drave away the Indians. The Monheags did very good service, and are much commended for it. On the last Sabbath they did bury our dead.*

“About Quabaug noe Indians have bin seen these many weekes; only one old man was espied among corne. They pursued him,—he ran,—they overtook him,—he would confess nothing. They laid him downe,—*Cornelius*,† the Dutchman lifting up his sword to cut off his head,—the Indian lift[ing] up his hand betweene,—so that his hand was first cut off and partly his head,—the second blow finished the execution.

“Yesterday news [came] from the eastern parts that four or five [places were] besieged with the enemy, who are about 500. The townes are Casko, Saco, Scarborough, and, (I think) Welles. They are in expectation [of being]

* Yet the commendations are scanty in the printed accounts.

† Cornelius Consert. He had been a pirate in the W. Indies, and was with others, let out of the jail in Boston on the condition of his going out under Mosely, to fight the Indians. See *Book of the Indians*, 208, 209, 215, 328.

cut off by the Enemy [every] houre ; and those places are soe [*remote*] that it is very probable they will be destroyed.*

“The Indian prisoners are first indited by the grand inquest [*then tried by the*] petty jury. One is found guilty of confederacy with the enemy. [*It is*] supposed the verdict will be the same for all. Yesterday, one *Little-John*,† who was accused for shooting Stoughton‡ at Taunton, was hanged here. No news yet from Last night there was an alarm through all this towne, and [the country.] All the cause as yet known is that some of Malden discharged a gun. Yours are well here. my dearest feverish. I intreat your preachers

“I am sir, yours unfaindly,

“JOHN COTTON.”

LETTER OF JOSIAH WINSLOW.

The following valuable letter requires no apology for its insertion, the editor having copied it from the original. It has been before printed, but erroneously, by Judge Davis, in his edition of Morton's Memorial. Mr. Davis remarks that it is supposed to be written by Gov. Josiah Winslow. My copy was made not long after that used by the Judge ; at which time I found enough of the signature remaining to identify it as that of Winslow. When my copy was made I was not aware that it had been copied at all. It

* Those fears were soon realized. Many of the particulars are detailed in Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, (Woodward's Edition more particularly,) Willis' *Hist. Portland*, and others.

† I find no other record of the execution of this Indian, or the crime for which he suffered. Possibly he went by another name.

‡ Mr. Savage finds a *Nicholas* Stoughton at Taunton, “at least there married, 17 Feb. 1674, Elizabeth Knapp”; but if the Stoughton mentioned in the above letter was this man, he was probably not killed, for his wife, according to Mr. S. had a child born 4 July, 1679.

was probably written at Marshfield, and directed to Thomas Hinkley, Barnstable.

“May 23, 1676.

“Gentlemen,* my respects :—

“It pleaseth the only wise and most just god still to keepe us under his rod ; since the damage done at Bridgewater † and Ply[mouth] which you have knowledge of, the enemy having killed 4 stout men at Taunton, and carryed away two lusty youths. Mr. Henry Andrews, James Boll, Sergt. Phillips and the two youths all at one time, being securely planting two or 3 miles from the town, the other one, Leonard Babit, killed at another place ; the 4 men leaving 32 fatherles children in a hard world ; the last teusday [16 May] they killed a man between Hingham and Conahasset, ‡ and then fell to burning, beginning with Mrs. Tilden’s Sawmill [*a blank*] and Jo : Silvesters house and Barn ; but not a man from Sittuate would stir to remove them ; but 14 of our towns warder marched up to Jo : Barestoës and had sight of a party of the enemy at Will Barestoës, § but being unhappily discovered by them,

* When he began his letter he intended it for two persons as will be seen.

† On the 9th of April previous, the Indians burnt the house and barn of Robert Latham. The family had abandoned it some days before, saving most of their effects. The reader can perhaps locate Latham’s house from facts which he will find in the *Plymouth Col. Recs.* iv, 193. At a court in Plymouth, 3 June, 1679, “Robert Latham, for being twice drunk, is fined 10s.” *ib.* vi, 16. A tale of his shocking cruelty may be read in vol. iii, 71–2, 73.

‡ Deane mentions the killing of John Jacob of Glad-tidings Plain, then a part of Hingham, and places it on the 19th of May, which was Friday. See also the same author, *Hist. Scituate*, 125. *Hobart’s Diary* (in Lincoln’s *Hist. Hingham*) says Jacob was slain 19 April, being all of a month out of the way. This is another evidence that Hobart made up his *Diary* from hearsay (probably) long after many of the events transpired. Above we have the true date.

§ The earliest settler on the territory since Hanover.—Barry, p. 50.—He was probably the William Beersto of 1635, a passenger in the *Truelove*, Capt. Jo : Gibbs.—See *Founders of New England*, 42. He had a brother *John*, who is, I suppose, the “Jo :” before mentioned. John’s son Jeremiah was killed in the Pawtucket fight with Capt. Pierce, 26 March, 1676.—*Barstow Genealogy*, MS.

also, they ran away, leaving some horses and cattle they were about to carry away, and those houses at that time spared from the flames; Taunton and Bridgewater men are confident that they are planting about Assawomset or Dartmouth, and did yesterday track 200 of them as they judge, towards Assawamset. Thus far I had begun to write to Mr. Freeman and your selfe, intending to have sent this day by Mr. Arnold,* who was to come this day to you by sea, to obtain ten or twelve of your Indians for each of those towns for whom wee will provide arms, amunition and provision, that was put of at the present by sight of yours to Capt. Bradford, declaring that you should bee upon your march the beginning of this week with a party of English and what Indians you could make out; but we doe earnestly request you both, and Mr. Borne,† to provide us Sixty Indians that may be confided in, as speedily as possible, and send them to us; or, upon word from you wee will send for them: the people in all our towns (Sittuate excepted) are very desierous to bee ranging after the enemy: last Satter[day, 22d] about 4, after noon, a second post came from Bridgewater, informing that they had, that morning, discovered a party of about 100 of the enemy at Teeticut, very busy killing chattell and horses, as if they intended some stay there; and that Taunton and Bridgewater had agreed in the night to advance towards them with about sixty men, to fight them in the morning, and requested a few men from us, if possible; the warning was very short, yet wee obtayned from Plymouth, Duxbury and Marshfield about 40 smart lads, and sent to Bridgewater that night, but have not as yet heard of or from them; they knew of your intended march: if they miss of those Indians may very probably

* Mr. Samuel Arnold, I suppose.—See vol. ii, 190–191.

† Mr. Richard Bourne.—See vol. i, 282, 283.

" Pray present my hearty respects to Mr. Walley,
 " on whom we depend for the Election Sermon.
 " So, comending you and all our concerns to god
 " rest yours J. WINSLOW."

† This was a most hasty order, and shows how little the life of an Indian was valued. The Governor did not consider how such a recommendation might be improved by any one who might have a grudge against another; not even an enemy to the English.

CHAPTER V.

Sudbury Fight.—Wadsworth Monument.—Erroneous Date upon corrected.—Grant of Mount Hope to Plymouth by Charles II.

SUDBURY FIGHT, APRIL 21, 1676.*

Part III, page 126.—It is not at all strange, that an event of as great importance in the war of 1675 and 1676, to the people of New England, as was that of Gettysburg to the United States in 1863, should deeply interest those who would be well informed in the progress of events in the nation's history. That an occurrence of such moment was, near the time in which it happened, accidentally misdated, or was registered by some, at a distance from the scene of it, a day or two out of the way, is by no means to be wondered at. Indeed it would be a wonder, in the state in which the country then was, if such had not been the case. And yet, in most of such discrepancies in dates, there is no difficulty in arriving at the true one, if an interested party will take any pains in investigating. In these cases, where a false date is seen continually repeated, those who repeat them are at once set down as careless as well as casual readers of the history of their own localities. But what is most to be regretted, is the persistency of some in adhering to false dates when they have once been the means of ignorantly giving them renewed currency. Sim-

* The Author does not state the date of the fight explicitly, but it is evident that he considered it as above stated.

ple justice requires every man to correct an error when the evidence is complete that he is in error.

These remarks are merely prefatory to the paper which follows, and which paper is inserted here, because it is believed to set the matter of the date of Sudbury Fight ever at rest. It would have been left untranscribed in the pages of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* where it originally appeared, but for the ill-advised admission of a defence of the false date of Sudbury fight into the same periodical.† And it should be stated in this connection, that the admission of that *defence* is not chargeable to the Editor of that work, but to an outside interference discreditable alike to the party and the Register. And it may be added, that when one has an inclination to appear as superior arbiter on similar historical points, he would do it with as much credit to himself, and benefit to the cause of history, if he produced his facts independent of a mass of crude statements, calculated to put his knowledge of the matters at issue on a par with the author of such crudities. The bringing to light valuable materials will be the result of the beforementioned interference is expected. Let this, as far as it may, excuse the impropriety complained of.

The Register Article, proving the true date here follows :

WADSWORTH MONUMENT.

“SUDBURY FIGHT is one of the most memorable events in the history of Philip’s war. When did that fight happen? This important question is proposed to be settled in this communication. Whether it were the 18th or 21st of April, 1676, that King Philip at the head of his warriors, ‘met with, and swallowed up valiant Capt. Wadsworth,’

* For July, 1853, vol. vii, p. 221-4.

† For April, 1866, vol. xx, p. 135.

as Colonel Church records it, is a question deserving of attention, no one will probably entertain a doubt.

“Upon the Monument recently erected to commemorate that event, the old date, 18 April, is retained. I shall now proceed to show that that date is erroneous, and that the 21st of April is the true date.

“On the 23d of November last, Governor Boutwell delivered an ‘Address at the Dedication of the Monument to the Memory of Capt. Wadsworth, at Sudbury.’ In the course of his ‘Address,’ he alludes to the doubt in regard to the date of the Fight, and says, ‘Some writer has stated that the battle was fought on the 21st, instead of the 18th of April.’ ‘It may not be proved,’ he adds, ‘that it was fought on the 18th, but it is determined [settled] that it was fought previous to the 21st;’ and that the old date, 18 April, is sustained by the evidence he had gathered.

“I will, in the first place, examine the contemporary historians. And first, HUBBARD. This author is by far the most valuable one we have on the early Indian wars, and is as accurate as any man could have been, under the circumstances. But in many instances he has committed errors of date as well as of fact. In his narration of what happened in and about Sudbury, he is somewhat confused; placing the events of several days as though they all happened the same day. This was owing to his not receiving a correct account of the events in the order in which they happened. Hence it is not strange that he has set down the date of Sudbury Fight under the date of another skirmish—evidently considering them as happening at the same time, or on the same day, which I shall show to be an error. Hubbard does not distinctly say that the fight was on the 18th of April, in the body of his narrative, though the inference is clear that that date is meant; but in a sort of *addenda* to his work, which he calls a ‘Table,’

he does say distinctly, that 'Sudbury, a convenient town, violently assaulted, Apr. 18, 1676.' And this, I have not a shadow of doubt, was President Wadsworth's authority for the date which he placed upon the old Monument.

"Secondly, MATHER. His work is in the style or form of a diary; events being put down from day to day, as it were. Under the date 18 April, he records no event; under the 19th, only that 'a man was killed at Weymouth and another at Hingham. And they burnt down the remaining deserted houses at Malbery,' [Marlboro'.] But under date, 'April 20. A day of humiliation was observed at Boston. The next day sad tidings came to us [that is April 21.] For the enemy set upon Sudbury, and burnt a great part of the town; and whereas Captain Wadsworth (a prudent and faithful man) was sent out for their relief with about seventy armed men, a great body of Indians surrounded them, so as that above fifty of ours were slain that day, amongst whom was Captain Wadsworth and his Lieutenant Sharp. Also Captain Brattlebanck (a godly and choice spirited man) was killed at the same time. Also they took five or six of the English and carried them away alive, but that night killed them in such a manner as none but savages would have done. For they stripped them naked, and caused them to run the gauntlet, whipping them after a cruel and bloody manner, and then threw hot ashes upon them; cut out the flesh of their legs, and put fire into their wounds, delighting to see the miserable torments of wretched creatures. Thus are they the perfect children of the Devil.' What numbers the Indians lost in this fight, we know not, only a captive since escaped out of their hands, affirms that the Indians said one to another, that they had one hundred and twenty fighting men killed this day.'

"This is Dr. Mather's whole passage, or all he says

about Sudbury Fight, which is thought worthy a place in these pages, as his work is now to be met with only in the libraries of the curious, or those of institutions, accessible comparatively to but few. From this account, the *news*, certainly, of Capt. Wadsworth's defeat reached Boston on April 21st. Dr. Mather lived in Boston, and no doubt recorded things day by day. That the appalling news reached Boston on the day of the tragedy cannot admit of a doubt, for Sudbury was then reckoned to be but 18 miles from Charlestown.

“Thirdly. MAJOR GENERAL DANIEL GOOKIN. This soldier, magistrate and author was then in active service, and resided at Cambridge. He left an account of this war, which, while it was written to vindicate the conduct of the Christian Indians during the war, is one of the most valuable records of the transactions of the war to be found. His advantages for correct information were superior to those of any other man of that day. All the Indians who served with and for the English in these parts, were under his immediate command. He employed them as soldiers, spies and runners, on all occasions, and he was the first to hear of successes or disasters. He kept minutes of all important information, and from those minutes he composed a history, which he sent to England in manuscript, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. With the advantages here exhibited, it is not strange if we find the best, and only intelligible account of the Sudbury Fight, in his history. It is entitled a history of the praying Indians during Philip's war. This work, though now printed in the *Archæologia Americana* of the Antiquarian Society, is little known beyond the limits of extensive libraries; it is therefore extracted here without abridgment, as well for its intrinsic value as a historical relation of a memorable event, as for its bearing so decidedly upon

the point at issue. It may not be improper to remark, by the way, that if General Gookin's account had been consulted by those who had the supervision of the erection of the new Monument, they could hardly have failed to give the correct date upon it.

“Major Gookin says, ‘as these tidings came to Charlestown [that Sudbury was attacked] just at the beginning of the Lecture there;’ that himself and Mr. Thomas Danforth (also a magistrate) ‘were then hearing the Lecture Sermon, and being made acquainted therewith, they withdrew out of the meeting house, and immediately gave orders for a ply of horses belonging to Captain Prentiss’ troops, under conduct of Corporal Phipps, and the Indian Company under Captain Hunting, forthwith to march away for the relief of Sudbury. Captain Hunting with his Indian Company being on foot, got not to Sudbury until a little within night,’ and then found that the Indians had accomplished their work, and had retreated ‘unto the west side of the river of Sudbury, where also several English inhabited.’ Nothing therefore could be done against them, and Captain Hunting and his men lay on their arms the remainder of the night of the 21st of April. ‘Early in the morning, upon April 22d, our 40 Indians having stripped themselves and painted their faces like to the enemy, they passed over the bridge to the west side of the river, without any Englishmen in their company, to make discovery of the enemy (which was generally conceived quartered thereabout.) But this did not at all discourage our Christian Indians from marching out for discovery; but the enemy were all withdrawn. Our Indian soldiers having made a thorough discovery, and to their great grief (for some of them wept when they saw so many English lie dead on the place among the slain.) Some they knew, namely, those two worthy and pious Captains, Capt. Bro-

klebank of Rowley and Capt. Wadsworth of Milton, who with about 32 private soldiers were slain the day before. For Captain Wadsworth lying with his company at Marlborough, being left there to strengthen that frontier upon the return of the army, he understanding that the enemy had attacked Sudbury, took a ply of his men, about six files, and marched for their relief; with whom Capt. Broklebank (who kept quarters at Marlborough) went; seeking this opportunity, as a good convoy, to go to Boston to speak with the council. Capt. Wadsworth being a valiant and active man, and being very desirous to rescue his friends at Sudbury, marched in the night with all the speed he could; and his soldiers, being spent and weary with travel and want of rest, fell into the enemy's ambushment in the morning; and the enemy being numerous encompassed him round, so that they were generally cut off, except a few that escaped to a mill which was fortified, but the people were fled out of it; but the enemy knew not of their flight, and so, supposing the mill to be strong, they ventured not to attack it. At the same time, Capt. Cutler of Charlestown, with a small company, having the convoy of some carts from Marlborough, that were coming to Sudbury, having secured his carriage at a garrison house, escaped narrowly from being cut off by the enemy. The enemy also, at that time, cut off some English soldiers that were coming down under the conduct of one Crowell, of Boston.'

"From such minute and particular statements, and coming from such authority, it is difficult always successfully to appeal. We will next proceed to another contemporaneous writer, who, like Dr. Mather, resided in Boston at the time of the Sudbury Fight, and though an anonymous writer, he is undoubtedly entitled to credit, in the absence of any apparent motive to make a wrong statement. This author,

whoever he was, seems to have noted down the facts of the war as they came to his knowledge, and to have communicated them in letters to a friend in London. Sir Roger L'Estrange licensed them to be printed, October 11th, 1676; the letters extracted in the work, cover a period 'From the 5th of May to the 4th of August, 1676.' In this tract the date of Sudbury Fight is given 'April 21st.'

"Fifthly. HON. JUDGE SEWALL.—Under date 'April 21, 1676,' Judge Sewall thus writes in his Diary.—'*Nota bene.* Friday, about three in the afternoon, Capt. Wadsworth and Capt. Brocklebank fall. Almost an hundred, since I hear about fifty men slain, three miles off Sudbury. The said town burned, garrison houses excepted.'

"Here, it would not be presumptuous to rest the case, as conclusively settled, without argument. But that no doubt may hereafter remain, it may be more satisfactory to those who have not the means of investigation at hand to make a statement relative to some points in the testimony. And firstly, Mr. Boutwell, in his excellent and eloquent 'Address,' before noticed, suggests that the date on the old monument must be correct, because Capt. Wadsworth's own son caused it to be placed there, and that he had the best means of ascertaining the correct date of the death of his father. Now this may depend entirely upon circumstances. President Wadsworth *might*, or he *might not* have the best means of knowing the date in question. *We* do not know whence he derived the date, but are confident in the opinion that he derived it from Mr. Hubbard's *Narrative*. About *sixty* years had elapsed before a Monument was erected. President Wadsworth knew nothing of the time of the Sudbury Fight, except from some record. There may have been such a record in the family Bible at Milton, but we hear nothing of any such. But supposing there had been such a record, President Wadsworth

would very naturally recur to Mr. Hubbard's *History*, as the most authentic source of whatever related to the war; for, in his time, there was no other history of it extant so common in all libraries as that work.*

“Secondly. That Sudbury Fight was on a lecture day, there is, and can be, no question. Gen. Gookin could not be mistaken as to this point. It has already been stated, in his own words, that himself and Mr. Danforth were in the meeting house at Charlestown, attending the Lecture, when ‘tidings’ came to them that Sudbury was attacked, &c. Now, what were the days for holding Lectures at Charlestown? By a reference to Mr. Budington's *History of the First Church* of that town, this question is easily settled. It is there stated that the regular Monthly Lectures were held in that town on Fridays. And we know that the 21st of April, 1676, was Friday. Here we think the case may be safely dismissed, as fairly and conclusively settled.

“This examination has been made solely for the sake of discovering the truth. Sudbury Fight is a great event in the early annals of New England, and it is of great importance that the time it happened should be truly stated, and the correction made upon the new Monument without delay; for every day it is suffered to bear a wrong date, adds to the difficulty arising from the multiplication of such errors. Hundreds now, and thousands hereafter, will yearly visit this Monument, and with their pencils transcribe the inscription, and thereby give additional currency to an error, not being aware that it is such. The descendants of those who escaped or fell on that disastrous day, will hereafter make pilgrimages from the far West, to the

* The reader will find other facts in Gage's *Hist. of Rowley*, and Shattuck's *Hist. of Concord*.

place where their ancestors fought and bled ; confidently believing, that on the day of their visit, just five hundred, or just one thousand years before, as the case may be, and on that very spot, the deadly tomahawk and scalping knife, accompanied with the terrific yell of the savages, were dealing death among those, who here laid down their lives and left their inheritance to them."

GRANT OF MOUNT HOPE TO PLYMOUTH.

Mention is made in Part IV, page 2, that Mount Hope was adjudged or granted to Plymouth by the King, and a brief extract is given from some document in evidence of the grant. The document from the King was in answer to certain letters from the Plymouth authorities setting forth their claims to said territory ; and as it is of no inconsiderable importance in the history of the Colony, and is nowhere published, it is given here verbatim.

"CHARLES R. Trusty and well beloved, We greet you well : Have with great Satisfaction read your Letter bearing Date first of July last, in return to another from us the 12th of February, 1678-9, together with Copies of other Letters from you unto us dated the 12th of June, 1677, containing a Narrative of the success which you and other of our good Subjects there have had against the Rebellious Enemy, and the total overthrow given unto that common Enemy ; and the said Papers having been particularly examined by the Lords of our Privy Council appointed our Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, and their Opinions thereupon being reported unto us in our said Councill : We have taken into our Royall Consideration, how, that by your Loyalty and good Conduct in that War, you have been happy Instruments to enlarge our Dominions, and [bring]

that new Territory of Mount-hope unto a more immediate and perfect Allegiance and Dependence on us: We are therefore graciously pleased to give and grant, and do hereby give and grant unto you the full and entire Propertie of the said Tract or Scope of Land, commonly called Mount-hope, containing by Seven Thousand Acres, being more or less, for the sole and proper Use and Behoofo of yourselves and the rest of our said Colony of New Plymouth; to be holden of us, our Heirs and Successors, as of our Castle of Windsor in our County of Berks, in free and common Socage, yielding and paying therefor to us our Heirs and Successors, as a Quit Rent and Acknowledgement of this our Royall Donation, Seaven Beaver Skins, to bee delivered att our said Castle of Windsor every yeare on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, or in Default thereof Fourteen Marks, to bee paid into our Royall Exchequer; the said Payment to commence from the Day of the Date of these Presents: Saving, nevertheless, all such just Right and Title to the Premisses, or any Part thereof, as any others of our good Subjects may lawfully have thereunto.

“And whereas Wee are given to understand that our said Colony of New Plymouth was the most antient of all the rest within that our Dominion of New England, and hapned to bee settled by so much casualty as that you have only a generall Grant from the old Councill of Plymouth, and that there are wanting severall necessary Provisions for your Incorporation, which are esteemed fit for the confirming of your Peace and Happinesse, and the giving you a nearer dependence and protection from the Crown; for these Considerations therefore, and in regard of the many Instances of your Loyalty, as well ancient as what hath been by you lately exprest, We further graciously promise and declare our Royal Intentions to confer upon our said

Colony of New Plymouth our Royal Charter that may containe all such Priviledges, Rights and Franchises for your good Government and advantage as shall by you upon due application be reasonably desired, and by us thought fitt. And so wee bid you Farewell. From our Court att Whitehall, this 12th Day of January, in the one and Thirtieth year of our Reign.

“By his Maj^{ties} Command

“H. COVENTRY.”

[*Address :*] “To Our Trusty and well beloved Josiah Winslow, Esquire, Governor, and to the General Court of our Colony of New Plymouth within our Dominion of New England, and to our Governor and Generall Court thereof for the time being.”

CHAPTER VI.

Little Compton.—Indian Deed to Capt. William Southworth.—*Bill Southworth*.—Capt. Coram at Taunton.—An Account of him and his Benefaction.—Expedition against Canada.—Plymouth Men engaged in it.—Original Letter of Daniel Carpenter.—Roll of Capt. Samuel Gallop's Company.

ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORY OF LITTLE COMPTON.

In the notice of Little Compton, IV, 62-6, some account is found of the conveyances of land among the Indians themselves. An additional item, from an original deed given by "Mamanuah" to Capt. William Southworth, dated Feb. 9th, 1693-4, is of special moment for the understanding of what the author has there given. It seems inferable that Mamanuah had remained faithful to the English during, or had taken no part with Philip in his war; that therefore he was allowed to possess certain lands at Seconet afterwards; as by the deed above mentioned. The consideration was "thirty shilling," and the land is thus described:—"lying and being in the township of little Compton aforesaid, lying near Coxet River bounded on the north and south side by lands formerly sold Mr. Joseph Church with Southworth and others, and bounded on the west side by the lands of Petter *Quackin* [?], on the east by the land sometime belonging to Phillop an Indean, being all the land I have thereabout." Signed with the mark — of "Mamanuett." It was acknowledged before Nathaniel Thomas, July 26th, 1694. The witnesses Ed-

ward Gray and Jonathan Tripp. The deed is in the very beautiful autograph of "William Pabodie."

William Southworth who made this purchase, was the companion of Capt. Church in his warlike expeditions, and whom Church familiarly called his brother *Bill*. This fact did not occur to my friend, the Rev. Dr. Dexter, in editing Church's "homely narrative;" hence an elaborate note which must have cost him a good deal of time and about as much perplexity. The reason that the name is given "B. Southworthy" in the old narrative is obvious. Nobody knew *William* Southworth then, while every body knew *Bill*. The writer being aware of the fact, and also aware that to write *Bill* in full would be superlatively homely, to mend the matter, as he thought, wrote only "B." Such, it may be added, are the Editor's conclusions.

CAPT. THOMAS CORAM.

The residence for a time of Capt. Thomas Coram in Taunton, unlike that of Hampden at Plymouth, does not seem to have been questioned. His sojourn here, and his disinterested labors elsewhere in the cause of humanity demand of the historian of the Old Colony a more particular notice. Our author's applying to him the character of a *misanthrop* is in bad taste, and arose from ignorance of Capt. Coram's real character.

Thomas Coram was born in Lynn, County of Norfolk, England, 1668, was bred to the sea, and passed his early years in trading to the American Colonies as master of a vessel. "While he resided in the vicinity of Rotherhite, as his avocations obliged him to go early into the city and return late, he frequently saw deserted infants exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, and through the indigence or cruelty of their parents left to casual relief of untimely death. This naturally excited his compassion, and led

him to project the establishment of an Hospital for the reception of exposed and deserted children: in which humane design he labored more than seventeen years, and at last, by his unwearied application, obtained the royal charter, bearing date, the 17th of October, 1739, for its incorporation. He was highly instrumental in promoting another good design,—the procuring a bounty upon naval stores imported from the colonies of Georgia and Nova-Scotia. But another charitable plan which he lived to make some progress in but not to complete, was a scheme for uniting the Indians in North America more closely with the British Government, by an establishment for the education of Indian girls. Indeed he spent a great part of his life in serving the Public, and with so total a disregard to his private interest, that in his old age, he was himself supported by a pension of somewhat more than a hundred pounds a year, raised for him by voluntary subscriptions. On application being made to this venerable and good old man, to know whether a subscription being opened for his benefit would not offend him, he gave the noble answer:—‘I have not wasted the little wealth of which I was formerly possessed in self indulgence or vain expenses, and am not ashamed to confess that in this my old age I am poor.’ This singularly humane, persevering, and memorable man, died at his lodgings near Leicester-square, March 29th, 1751, and was interred, pursuant to his own desire, in the vaults under the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital.”*

This renowned Hospital, founded through the persevering sacrifices of Capt. Coram, was opened in 1739. Its site was in what was then Guilford Street, the land having been purchased of the Earl of Salisbury for £7,000.

* J. Ireland, extracted in Peter Cunningham’s *Hand Book of London*.

In the London Magazine for 1739, are detailed the ceremonies which took place at the opening of the Hospital, the choice of officers, and a promulgation of the Charter. On the occasion the meeting was at Somerset House, and the Duke of Bedford was chosen the first president, to whom Capt. Coram delivered a speech replete with good sense and kindness, a passage from which is in these words: "I can sincerely aver that nothing would have induced me to embark in a design so full of difficulties and discouragements, but a zeal for the service of his Majesty, in preserving the lives of great numbers of his innocent subjects. The long and melancholy experience of this nation has too demonstrably shown with what barbarity tender infants have been exposed and destroyed, for want of proper means of preventing the disgrace, and succoring the necessities of their parents."

In another part of his speech he speaks of his "declining years," that he feels amply rewarded for his "more than seventeen years of expensive labor and steady application," and that he would not remit his exertions in his endeavors in the same cause.

The celebrated Handel was a great friend to the institution, and performed his oratorios in it many times for its benefit. On some occasions about £1,000 were realized from the sale of seats. Alas! for the mutability of all things. The Foundling Hospital may be sought by the benevolent or curious stranger in London, in vain. It long since became another affair and took another name!

The following is from the *Gentleman's Magazine*: "March 29th, 1741. The orphans received into the Hospital were baptized there,—some nobility of the first rank standing godfathers and godmothers. The first male was named Thomas Coram, and the first female Eunice Coram, after the first promoter of that charity and his wife.

The most robust boys designed for the sea service were named Drake, Norris, Blake, &c., after our most famous Admirals.”* Capt. Coram passed away just ten years after the above date, at the age of 83. His body was deposited with great solemnity; “the Charter of the Hospital was carried before the corpse, on a velvet cushion, the children walking before it; the pall was supported by eight persons of distinction; a great number of governors followed the body in deep mourning, and were met by the choirs of Westminster and St. Paul’s, who performed a solemn service composed by Dr. Boyce.”

His portrait by Hogarth was painted for the Hospital the size of life, and that artist said it was one of the first he executed the size of life, and was considered one of the best in the Hospital. An engraving from that painting is in the writer’s collection.

CANADA EXPEDITION OF 1690.

The expedition against Canada in 1690 does not seem to have received the attention of the Author; leaving his readers to infer that the Colony of Plymouth had no share in it. In speaking of Col. Church he merely says that the Colonel did not approve of the undertaking, or had no confidence in its success. Church says in his Memoirs, that “Major Walley often requested him, that if he would not go himself in that expedition, that he would not hinder others. He answered the said Walley, that he should hinder none but his old soldiers that used to go along with him.” And it seems from the following list that but few if any of his “old soldiers” did go with Col. Walley, if Capt. Gallop’s company is a fair sample. Other companies may have gone from the Old Colony, and it was the duty of the historian to have given an account of all such. So

* Descendants of these thus named will meet with a stumbling block if they have an inclination to trace their ancestry.

long as the foundation work of history is overlooked, so long injustice continues to be done those who risked their lives in their country's cause.

The following Letter is from the original in the Editor's possession. It in a measure explains itself, and is of much interest, belonging to the history of Sir William Phip's disastrous expedition:—The first line is worn off. “. this time remembering my love to my brothers and sisters and all the rest of my relations and friends, hooping you are all well as we are. I could hartely wish to heare from you before I go cleare away. I being now in great hast, and for want of paper I cannot write much as I would, but I will giue you a short account of our acting since I come from home. We lay at Plymouth 8 dayes, waiting the uessells, but they came not, but upon the 25 day of this instant we sald out of Plymoth in 5 shalops, about noon, and came to Nantasket before night, and we shall be ther till we go away. We conclude we shall goe the 30th day. The saboth day I and 5 more of Tantune soulders went to Waymoth to meeting. Grandfather and Grandmother and unkell Nathanel. They are well. They desire to be remembred to you.

“ I inform you who are our offersers :—Sa^m Gallope is our Captain ; Preseaurit Abell, Leue^{ter} ; Solomon Smith, Ensig. ; Saml. Sabin, Sargt. ; Will. Hack, Sargt. ; John Querk, Corp^l ; Nicolas Peck, Corp^l ; Carlow Caree [Cary], Stuerd. All our Soulders are well, that belong to oure towne. Not further at present ; so I rest, and remain your deutiefull Son

“ DANIELL CARPENTER.”

“ Waimoth, the 27,* 1690.”

Superscription :—“ These for His Honnerd Father William Carpenter, Liuieng att Rehoboth this d. d. d.”

* July, it is presumed, as the fleet sailed from Nantasket, August 9th.

The above letter is upon a half sheet of cap paper, upon the back of it is a list of names, apparently of the company to which the writer belonged. They are in a different hand from that of the letter. As these cannot fail to be of interest to the reader of this history they are here copied :—

Capt. Saml. Gallope	John Edy
Ens. Solomon Smith	Samuell Holloway
Sergt. Samuell Sabin	Daniel Phillips
Ens. William Hack	Miles Gurden
Corpl. John Querk	John Hoskins
Corpl. Nicolas Peck	William Ripley
Ichabod Peck	Thomas Tranter
William Robinson	Carlow Caree
Daniel Carpenter	Phillip Brazell
Jacob Carpenter	John Price
Daniel Sheperdson	William Hillyard
Noah Sabin	Jonah Meredith
John Ormsby	Thomas Hart
John Wall	William Newland
Samuell Butterworth	Phillip Allen
Henry Thomas	William Ellis
John Dauiss	John Cupowo*
Samuel Luther	John Thomas
Morris Ronam	Sam. Tutusk
Ungass Callee	Dickins
Zacariah Curtiss	Simon Tom
Richard Tuells	Joshua Thomas
Thomas Tuells	James Pumshot
Thomas Crossman	Obed Wickum
John Bright	Obadiah
Nicolas Hall	Benjamin Jacob
John Smith	Abel Wasunks
John Bagley	Sam Hunter
Joseph Jones	Joseph Jechekewot
Daniel Fisher	Sam. Umpatuns"

* Several of these names are those of Indians, but how many is a little uncertain, as it was so much a custom for Indians to take English names.

CHAPTER VII.

Plymouth in the Eastern Indian Wars.—Letter of Capt. Basset.—Narrative of Church's Expedition.—Letter of Church from Casco.—Second Letter of Church Narrating the Events of the Campaign.—His Orders Issued on Leaving the Eastern Coast.

LETTERS, chiefly written by Col. Benjamin Church, while upon Expeditions against the Eastern Indians ; being Official Reports of operations of the Forces under his command. Copied from the originals by the Editor, above thirty years ago, to be used in a contemplated new edition of Col. Church's "Entertaining History."

[NOTE.—I have intended to follow the originals in orthography, and other respects, as far as practicable, but do not feel very sure that I have been entirely exact. Contractions have been spelled out usually, that is, I have not retained such abbreviations as y^e, y^t, y^m, &c. They do not show the orthography of the time, but only a writer's chirography of certain words. The original punctuation could not be retained but at disadvantage ; for in the most of the letters there is not a period from beginning to end, and colons were thrown in many times where but a comma would only have been proper. Capital letters have been used in accordance with the Editor's usual mode. In the originals the authors had no notion of uniformity,—as often beginning a verb or adjective in the middle of a sentence with a capital as a noun ; and beginning the name of a place or person with a small letter as often as with a capital. The apostrophe to denote the possessive case was never used. Indeed it was not the custom of the age to use it. The originals are not divided into paragraphs. These copies remain the same in that respect ; a proper punctuation rendering such interference unnecessary.]

[Casco, September 23, (?) 1689.*]

“Honoured Sir,†—I thinking it to be my Duty together with hops of your kind acceptance hereof, I make bould to present you with a briefe account of our proceedings since I saw your honour at Bostone. We arrived on Friday the twentieth at Casco and Landed our men in the evening, not willing to have them discovered by day light to the enemie, which we had reason to thinke were neare, by information received from Major Walderns Daughter‡ that is Redeemed by the Dutch men-of-warr with the Indyan that was taken by them which you had account of; Major Church making it his business presently upon our arrival here to go on board them to inquire of her where the Indyans were and where they kept their head quarters, and what posture they were in. She informed him that there was fifty or upward of canoos, that were come to an Island neare to us with the enemie Indyans, both men wimin and children, about 400, with whom were, as she thot, about 100 fighting men, and they expected more to repaire to them hither, and to make this their head quarters: upon which nuse we intended to prepare as soon as we could and to range that Island; but the next morning about sun an hour high, being the 21st Instant, we heard divers guns fired off att a farmhouse, about one myle and

* The Colonel was commissioned by the Governor of Plymouth, Sept. 6th; by the President of the Commissioners of the United Colonies; by the Governor of Massachusetts, 17th Sept.; and by the Commissioners of the U. C. Sept. 18th. All of which Commissions are printed in the *Entertaining History*, 154-160, ed. 1827.

† Governor Thomas Hinckley, then at Boston attending the meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, of whom he was one.

‡ Her Husband, Abraham Lee, was among the massacred when Major Waldron's Garrison was taken by the Indians, June 27th, 1689. See Church, *ib.* 103.

half from our garison, being the house or Capt. Brackitt,* where the said Captain with one of his sons were gone up early in the morning upon sum business of his own unknown to the Major, where he himself was either taken or killed, and not found yet; by us his son escaped alive; upon which our souldiers were alarmed, and presently repaired thither; a small company first, under Capt. Hall,† and sum of major Church his particular company next, and so the rest as they were fitted, having not time to make signs for our Indyans, and so furnish them with suitable amunition, which was sum wrong to us; but when we came there we judge that we mett with about 400 of the enemie, and we had an ingagement with them in a field and orchard, that was a pritty convenient place for scirmish. We fought them, as we thinke, about seaven hours. Major Church himselfe came into the field, or place of our fighting, after he had put them into a posture at the garrison, and fitted out our forces, and with him brought a supply of ammunitiō: and then orderd myself and Livt. Smith‡ to draw off a small company to come on the back of the enemie; which after we did the enemy fledd, and we brought off our slain and wounded men, not thinking it convenient at that time to persue them into the wilderness; we being not very well provided, and not having broke our fast in the morning, and in a place where

* Capt. Anthony *Bracket*, who will be further noticed. He had an eventful life, and after many escapes and adventures among the Indians, perished by their hands.—See Hubbard, *Ind. Wars*, ii, 138–144, ed. 1865, and Willis's *Portland*, 219, and elsewhere.

† Nathaniel Hall, son, according to Savage, of the first John Hall of Yarmouth. He had no children, though he had a wife Ann, dau. of the Rev. Thos. Thornton; was a tavern-keeper and physician. He was in command of a Massachusetts company.

‡ Perhaps Solomon Smith of Rehoboth, who served in the Canada expedition of 1690; but the Solomon in that was an Ensign, as elsewhere seen.

water was scarce. The number of our slain was about eight english; 6 of Capt. Hall's men,* and two from this town,† one negro‡ and one Indyan, called Sam Moses; one of Yarmouth, under Capt. Dan¹¹: eleven wounded, 4 of Major Churchis Indyans, one we thinke mortall, and two of Capt. Amos his souldiers, which are but little hurt, or at least whope they will recover, and the rest wounded are strangers to me.¶ The Indyans our enemies fought ably, and drew off their dead and wounded (which we thinke, by divers that our Indyans and english saw fall, and the sign of their drawing them away, and our hearing them cut sticks in a swamp near behind them, as we thinke, to carry them on,) that they had more damage then as much more don to them than we had don to us. We that were not wounded are in competent health through the goodness and mercy of god, and do intend tomorrow to march up to a place called Comalongdin,§ about 8 miles of, from the Town, where we have expectation to meet with the enemy againe: Sir the Magor desires to be excused for not giving you an account hereof under his own hand; he being full of business, and understanding that I intended to write to you, did omitt it; but presents his service to you: so with my humble service and my Lieutenants, to yourself and Esq. Lothrop¶ and Mr. Russill,** I rest at

* Thomas Burton, Edward Ebens, Thomas Thaxter, Thomas Berry, John Mason, and David Homes.—Willis, from *Mass. Archives*.

† That is of Falmouth, (Casco.) Giles Row, and Andrew Alger.—*Ib.*

‡ "Of Col. Tyngs."

¶ Of Capt. Davis' company were killed or mortally wounded, James Freeze, George Bramhall, Thomas Browne, and Mr. Palmer.—*Willis*.

§ Uncertain what place is meant.

¶ Joseph, Son of the minister, Mr. John Lothrop.—See *Part ii*, 71, INDEX.

** Rev. Jonathan Russell of Barnstable.—See *Part iv*, 83.

present; desiring your prayers for our good success and preservation, leaving you to the protection of the almighty.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant

WILLIAM BASSITT." *

"Falmouth in Casco, October 18: 1689:

"Gen^t. I make Bould to present you with a briefe account of our Late proceedings, and of my apprehension of what may be best for the advantage of our Collony in providing for the army for their present supply with provision that we may be able to prosicute the designe that we are now upon, which I hope we shall be willing and carefull with the blessing of god to attend: we have been Dilligent in ranging the country both east and west, as far as we have been capable with the guides that we have had: but have made very little discovery of the enemie since the fight we had with them, which you have had account of,† only sum few that have been sculking about these towns that have done sum mischief,‡ but we have not had opportunity yet to meet with them, notwithstanding our great endeavour therein; we are intended, as soon as guides are sent us

* The grandfather of Capt. Bassett came to Plymouth in the *Fortune*, 1621. His name was William and he had wife Elizabeth, "probably a Tilden." The father, also named William, settled in Sandwich. His son, William, (our Captain,) settled in Bridgewater, and occupied the homestead of his grandfather, William Bassett, an original proprietor of that town. A Daughter of the first William Bassett, Sarah, was the wife of the first born of the Pilgrims, viz., Peregrine White. The family was doubtless one of the first in the Colony. The original emigrant brought over with him, what in those days, was viewed as a valuable library. Our William had a fair education as appears from his letters, and his appointment of Captain, Marshal, &c.—See Mitchell, *Hist. Bridgewater*, 111—113.

† In the previous letter.

‡ Of the nature and extent of the mischief referred to the historians of Maine do not inform us. The sad disaster at Pemaquid happened above two months before.—See Gyles's *Narrative in Indian Captivities*, 73.

from Boston, and a supply of bread, to March up further eastward with our forces, expecting the assistance of Major Swayn * and sum of his forces to atake the head quarters of the enemie ; ours not thinking it suitable and convenient to march so far up into the enemies country without good guides, and without good strength ; not knowing what we may meet with : and we hope, therefore, that the Councill off Bostone will spedily send us guides and an able Doctor, which we have seuerall times sent for, which is of absolute nesessity, and hath hitherly been neglected : but in respect to provisions for the armie we think that meate and pease may easilier be procured here from the inhabitants than be sent to us from Boston, which can not be expected, neither, without purchase from the owners by supplying them with such nesessaries as they stand in need of to supply their familys, which they cannot subsist without : neither can they procure but by such things, being the substance of what they have left : the things which they want is shoes for men wimen and children, and Lining Cloth for shifting, and cotton or corsecearsie, or such like woolling cloth for cloathing, which by the advance of those goods, and the saving of freight of provisions heither, I judge it may be most for the publique advantage : sum of our armie is sickley, and by the season of the yeare we expect that cold weather will suddainly sett in, and therefore, we intend, by the middle of next month, to be moving homeward, if you shall see cause to order us thereto ; and so hoping that if these lines shall come to your hand at Boston, that you will be carefull that

* Probably Jeremiah Swain, of Reading. He was a Sergeant to Capt. Appleton at the Narragansett Swamp fight, 19 Dec., 1675 ; served in a higher capacity under Mosely, and was in the service in 1677. In 1685, with others he had a grant of land in the " Nipmug " county, in consideration of their services in the war of 1675-6.

the guides and other things before mentioned may be speedily conveyed, I subscribe myself your friend and servant

“BENJAMIN CHURCH.

“William Bassitt presents his service to you both.”*

“From our Head Quarters in Falmouth, }
in Casco, this 30th Oct., 1689. }

“To the Honored Thomas Hinckley and John Walley, Esqrs., Commissioners for the Colony of New Plymouth.

“These, after my service presented to you both, may give you account, that since I last wrote to you upon the coming of William Denis,† pilot to the armie, we transported our armie up to the head of Casco Bay, and there landed on the 22d instant, in order to our marching up into the country, to make farther discovery of the enemy, and it might have been that we might git to sum of their head quarters, and ordered the vessills that weightd on us to saile round, and meet vs in Kanebeck river; and we marched our armie from the place where we landed unto Amerascogen river, and found the river and freshits to be very high; ‡ which bespoke a great improvabillerty of our marching vp to the fort, that the enemy have sum times kept; which according to information is about forty myles higher vp the river then the place that we was at; there being one river for us to pass over, and divers swamps and much low ground, which by reason of the latenesse of the yeare, every brooke and swamp and river is so full of water, that it forbed our marching up theither then; which

* The letter is in Bassitt's hand.

† Perhaps that son of Robert *Dennis* of Yarmouth who married Sarah Howland of Duxbury. — See Savage's *N. Eng. Dec.* ii, 38-9.

‡ Probably on the site afterward occupied by Fort Halifax. See Hubbard, *Indian Wars*, ii, 148 and *Note*, edition 1865. See also Osgood Carlton's *Map of Maine*, 1802.

if pilots had been sent to us sooner, we might have gon with far less diffeculty to that fort. Then we marched down to Bejepscut fort, and so down to Kanebeck river, and to severall of the carrying placis; and against Rowsick island in Kanebeck we met with the vesills, and there we taried and killed up the cattle and swine that we found about the river, which we thought might much disadvantage the enemie, and furnish vs with provision; we being but short of provision before. We killed there about 30 neate cattle, small and greate, and about 30 or 40 swine: then we set saile for Pemequid, and there landed our armie, and marched speedily up from the water into the woods, where we had hopes of making sum discovery of the enemie, but could make but little, only of sum few that had been there for sum time before; which we judg were gon eastward; neither could we make discovery of any quantity of the enemie that had been very lately in any of those parts where we had marched, but all tracks and signs that had been made by them for sum time before, all led eastward; which causes vs to think that the bodie of the enemie are gon farr eastward. On Munday last, 28th instant, we took in divers great guns and patereras into the sloop Resolution, at Pemequid fort, and brought away; * knowing not but that they might have been improved by our enemies against us in time, if left there: And the next day, in the storme, we sett saile for Casco, where we arrived safe, through the goodness of god, that day, in the harbour. But the storme being so extreame that day and night following, that we could not land our men until next morning. Our shallup that went with us is not yet returned. Upon our return we had about one hogshead of bread left in all: but found here a new supply by Mr.

* The Indians and French had captured the fort there, on the 2d of August, preceding. They left the cannon, not being able to take them away.

Fludd;* and by him a letter from gouenor Hinckley to Capt. Bassitt, dated 21 : and 22 : instant, by which we judg that sum letters of ours were not then come to your hands, that were sent before by land, which we judge, before now, you have received ; by reason of which I may say the less at this time ; only, that the motion made by Gov^r Hinckley of our drawing off, is thought by myself and councill here to be the best way as can be tooke, and that with all expedition ; which is the great ocaion of my so speddy sending to you at this time, pr. Capt. Aldin,† by water, which I thought might be more speddy then by land : upon whose return we hope to receive such orders ; only leaving sum few of ours that are willing to winter here ; not thinking it meete to force such of ours as came volluntiers to stay longer then the time first proposed to them, against their wills : and in the meane time untill we heare from you our intent is to make another attempt to march up to Amerascogen-fort. That, if possible we can, we may doe what is to be done there before our drawing of : But by all the information as I can gitt, there seems to be no possibilitety of going up to Teconick nor Noridgewoock forts this winter, but is thought best to be don^e in the spring. This morning I have discoursed ours, both English and Indiyans, to know their minds ; and about eight of our English and four of our Indiyans, I judge will stay here untill the spring,

* Probably the same generally written *Flood*, or *Floyd* at a later day. This gentleman was doubtless Mr. *Noah Floyd* of Plymouth.

† Capt. John *Alden* of Boston, probably.—See *Hist.* and *Antiqs. Boston*, 499. About four years after this Capt. Alden was accused of being a witch, and was thrown into prison. He saved his life by managing to escape from jail, after near three months' of confinement. One of the Judges, Gedney, ordered him to confess, but Alden said he had nothing to confess, and appealed to all who knew him to declare if they knew aught against him ; but Gedney, who well knew him, and had been to sea with him, ordered him forthwith to prison.

under the comand of Capt. Edmonds* now with us, who, I thinke will be prevailed with to stay, unless you know of any other person that you think more suitable to send to take the care and conduct of those that shall be left. But I judg him to be a man very fitt to comit such a trust to, and one that is well aproved, both by the towns people here, and those that shall be left: And if 12: of ours tary here, we judge that will be our proportion of what may be thought needful to be left here of those that belong to our colony. That which I would further propose to your consideration is, whither you may not order all our Cape Indyans to be transported directly from hence to Plimouth town, to save charge and other ilconveniencies, which I think will be very convenient. So having written more fully in sundry parteculars to the councill att Bostone, where I hope these may come to your hands, and you may have knowledge thereof, I omit further enlargement at this time; only that Capt. Bassitt, Lievt. Southworth,† and Lieut. Smith being all in health, presents their humble service to you both: so desiring your prayers, and committing all our concerns into the hand of him who is the wise disposer of all things, I rest your Honr^s assured friend and humble servant,*

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

[On receipt of the foregoing letter at Boston, Mr. Walley wrote in it as follows:—] “Boston, 4 Nov. 1689. Pray sir fail not to send to Bristol two magistrates against our court. It will be of very seerious consequence if it should be neglected. (Mr. Smith is yet sick.) If we

* The same Capt. Andrew Edmunds of Providence who was distinguished in Philip's War. — See Hubbard, i, 90, 114, last edition.

† All in Capt. Bassitt's hand. — EDITOR.

† Nathaniel Southworth, brother-in-law to Church.

have no court our people will reckon no government, and then there will be little muneey earned with us. No other news. Farther intimations about the Charter being confirmed and delivered.† My service to your selfe, lady, and all friends."

The following document is but briefly alluded to by Col. Church in his history, but it is highly important in this connection, as it shows who some of his companions in arms were, and gives us the names of several of the principal inhabitants of the then thinly inhabited coast.

" Province of Maine

" Scarborough the 11th Nouember, 1689.

" Att a Councill of warr held at the point Garrison Present Major Benjemen Church, Capt Sylvanus Daus, Capt. William Bassitt, Capt Simon Willard, with the rest of the Comission Offecers of Saco, Felmouth and Scarborough.

" Itt is Ordered that one hundred theire Majesties Horses now in this present Exspedition against the Coman Enimie, be detached out of the seuerall Companyes, which should number for the security of the Garrisons there Resident, and in Case any of the Enemie be discovered or Any tracks of them be made in this winter Season, untill further force be sent that may Advance to theire head Quarters.

" Souldiers Quartered in the towne Ship of Saco twenty men ; in theire two Garrisons. In the township of Scarborough twenty men in theire Garrisons viz : three Spewink Included.

" Felmouth the 13 Nouember: Att a Councill of Warr held in persuance of what is above written, by Major Ben-

† This was premature, and has reference to the old charter, probably, which never was confirmed, as was anticipated by many that it would have been.

jamen Church, and the officers abovesaid. Added Capt Nathaniel Hall, Leiut Thaddeus Clark, Leiut Elisha Andrews, Mr. Elisha Gallison, Leiut George Ingersoll, Leiut Ambrous Davis, Mr. Robert Lawrance, Mr. John Palmer and others &c.

“Itt is ordered that sixty souldjers be Quartered in Felmouth, besides the Inhabitents, and the Souldjers that shall Belonge to the ffoart, which shall be ffifteen Souldjers besides the Comāder and Guñer, and the Remayner to be sent to Boston, to be Ready to Returne Accordinge to Order.

“Itt is Ordered that there be A Sufficiant Garrison Erected about Mr Gallisons house for a mayne Court of Guard, Together with Mr Robert Lawrance, his Garrison, which two Garrisons are to be supplied with the Sixty Souldjers left for to guard the said towne.

“Itt is Ordered that Capt Nathaniel Hall is to take Charge as Comander in Cheife of those ffoces that are lefft for the defence of the Above said three Townes, Those Souldjers that belong to Foart Loyall only to be under the Comander of said Foart.

“Ordered that Leiut Richard Huniwell, is to Take the Charge and Conduct of the twenty Souldjers quartered at Blew-point Black point and Spurwinck Garrisons, as he the said Leiut. Huniwell shall Recaive orders from time to time from the said Comāder in Cheife.

“Itt is Ordered that Ensigne John Hill is to take the Care and Conduct of those twenty Souldjers Quartered at Saco Garrison as the said Ensigne Hill shall Recaive orders from time to time, from his said Comander in Cheife.

“Itt is Ordered that the fforty Souldjers posted att Saco, Scarborough and Spurwinke are to be obedient unto the Comāders of the severall Garrisons where they shall be

posted whilst in Garrison, but to Attend the Comānds of
Leiut Huniwell and Ensigne John Hill respectively as
they are Concerned upon their scoutinge or marchinge
out:

“ Given under my hand this

14th of Nouember: 1689 :

“ By Concent of said: Councill
p mee

“ BENJAMIN CHURCH

“ Comānder in Cheife.”

CHAPTER VIII.

Situation of the Country after Church's Expedition of 1689.—Original Letter of Judge Sewall illustrative of the Situation.—Notice of Captives. — Mrs. Swarton. — Letter of Church narrating the Events of the Expedition of 1690.

Early in the Spring of 1690, the people of the Old Colony felt quite confident that they would be soon called upon again to aid Massachusetts against the Eastern Indians. On April 21st, 1690, Mr. John Walley wrote to Governor Hinckley, — “ The Indians of Dartmouth and Seaconnet are about 100 men ; 50 or more armed, have had a meeting, chose Leivt. [Nathaniel] Southward [Southworth] for their captain, or commander, and one Daniel Eaton, under whom they are willing to serve the English, if we should be assaulted. They have chosen Captain Numpas and another Indian for their Indian commanders.”

The following Letter of Judge Sewall, throws interesting light upon the situation of affairs in the Eastern Parts, and had a tendency to hasten the raising of men and munitions by Plymouth for the Expedition which followed under Major Church. It is addressed to Governor Hinckley. Copied from the original :—

“ Boston, May 21, 1690.

“ Honb^{le} Sir,—The Express sent pr. your Honour was with me about 5 a'clock this morning : But the Council being to meet in the morn, delayed, that might have the

sence, and expected a greater certainty of the condition of Casco which yet fails; whose sitting proves so late that fear will be 4 past Mⁿ before shall dismiss them. The General Court have ordered our Souldiers to be raised out of the several Regiments. Capt. James Converse is to command one company. They are to march next Tuesday, and rendezvous at Concord and Sudbury, and to march by land to Springfield, and on to Albany: intend to send Meat by Sea, and take up on trust, if it arrive not soon enough. Intend to send the 2d Company with a Lieutenant to Major Pynchon, and he appoint a Captain. We think Capt. Converse may be fit to be next the Major. No news is yet received from Sir William [Phips].* And exceeding bad news from the Eastward: Tis believed Casco Garrison and fort are burnt, and the Inhabitants destroyed; so that we do not understand that there is one escaped or shut up or left.† We fear, if this be true, there may be so many French and Indians that we shall be obliged to raise 4 or 5 hundred Men to defend our Frontiers on that part. This disaster fell out on Friday and Saterdag last. Fourscore Souldiers there. Capt. Willard‡

* He had been gone 22 days; having sailed from Boston, April 28th. He had some 800 men and eight small vessels.—See Hutchinson, i, 379.—Capt. Converse was sent to attack Canada *in the rear*; or as would now be said to aid Sir William's expedition by a *flank movement*. It was as futile as it was feeble, and as successful as the late Fenian movement to liberate Ireland by attacking Canada. However, a similar one resulted successfully, about 70 years later. A Diary of Capt. Converse's expedition has not probably been discovered.

† The fort was captured by the French and Indians, May 17. The expedition which resulted in the capture was a counter movement of the enemy, who were no doubt fully advised of Sir William's undertaking. The French were under the command of M. de Portneuf, third son of Baron de Békancourt. With him were 60 Abenakis of the Sault de la Chaudière.—Charlevoix, *Hist. Nouv. Fr.* ii, 52, where the French account may be seen. Mather says the Indians were under Hopehood. Capt. Silvanus Davis commanded the fort.—See *Book of the Indians*, 301-2.

‡ It would seem that he had been dismissed.—See *Magnalia*, vii, 73.

came away the day before. This News comes by men sent from Dominicas Jordans Garrison, and a Shallop that saw Houses on fire on Friday, and forced to come away without loading. Have only some glimmering hope, that the Fort [is] not burnt. K. J. [King James] is so far from being dead that He is said to be very strong in Ireland. Parliament [is] dissolved. New one to meet on the 20 or 22 March. Ship came from Tor Bay, March 7. Bill for Corporations twice fallen through; once by Prorogation, and then by the dissolution. My humble service to your Hon^r., Major Walley, and the Gent^a with you, praying God to turn away his Anger from us, and to take part with us, I take my leave, and remain Sir, your Honours Humble Serv^t.

“SAM. SEWALL.

“Vogue is 'tis like to be a Dissenting Parliament.

“The Rev^d Mr. Eliot expired this morning; wee put our Election into mourning.”*

Many of the people taken during the invasive expedition of Portneuf continued in captivity upwards of five years. A list of some that were redeemed, contained in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. VI, page 87, may be seen. Also a longer list of those remaining in captivity. In the *Magnalia* is a Narrative of one of the captives, Mrs. Hannah Swarton. It appears, however, that that Author mistook the Christian name of Mrs. Swarton, or that her name is given wrong in the list of the returned captives. It is there copied *Johana*. She arrived in Boston in October, 1695, in a vessel from Quebec, commanded by Capt. Matthew Cary, who had been sent there by the Government for the purpose of redeeming

* Thus is given the date of the death of the renowned Apostle to the Indians.

captives. Mrs. Swarton narrates, that when Casco fort was taken, her husband and her oldest son were killed, and that four children were taken with her. She had formerly lived in Beverly, and her husband was probably *John Swarton* of that town. The name may have been originally *Swainton*, or *vice versa*, but *Swarton* is a genuine old English name.

As an Introduction to the following letter the reader must refer to Col. Church's *Entertaining History*, beginning at page 177, edition 1827.

• "Portsmouth : Sept. 30 : 1690.

"May it please your Honor. — After the tender of all humble service, These are to give your honor a brief account of our proceedings ; since we sett saile from Piscataqua upon the 10th instant, at 2 in the afternoon : and first I must beg your honors pardon for my backwardness herein : but indeed I had intended to have more to write before I did send : also I heard that Major Pike * had given your honor account of the substance : but to prevent mistakes I will here be a little more particular. We sailed as afore said, and came the 11th in the night amongst the Islands in Casco Bay. Laid the vessells close out of sight — went on shore at breake of day, upon an Island that had been inhabited by the English, (called Capogag.†) We ranged about, found where the enemie had lately been, but were drawn off. This was the twelfth day. In the evening we wayed and came down to Macquait, and the 13th day

• Major Robert Pike of Amesbury. Several original letters of his are in the Editor's collections. His position as a Magistrate in the time of the witchcraft delusion obliged him to connect his name with the prosecutions. — See the Publication by W. E. Woodward, entitled *Records of Salem Witchcraft*

† Perhaps Great Gebeag. — See Williamson, *Hist. Maine*, i, 34. Called our accompanying Map "Sheab."

about 2: of the clocke in the morning we landed our men silently upon the Maine; and leaveing souldiers on board to keep the vessells, we marched in the night up to Pochipscutt * fort, — diuided the army into: 3: companies, surrounded the fort, and when daylight appeared we found that the enemie were removed not long before we came there; also the souldiers found some little plunder, and a barn of corn (the same day) we aduanced up the river towards Amascogg, on the south west side of the river, altho the way was extream difficult: yett it was a more obscure way: the enemie useing to march on the N. E. side. We marched that day above the middle falls,† about 20 miles: there it began to raine hard: where we encamped and built fifty tents, and lay there that night; and at break of day put out our fires and marched as soon as twas light: It being the 14th instant and the sabbath day, the souldiers marched briskly and came within sight of the fort about 2 of the clock in the afternoon; then we turned into the woods, and fetched a circumference, and waded over a little river not much above the knees; and in short time came to the westerly branch of the Great River, and there left our baggage and those men that were tired, and made them up 40 men to guard the Doctor: And looking over the brow of a hill by the river, espied two English captiues and an Indian, moving towards the fort: ran after them, and soon took the English but the Indian got cleare. Then I feared he would informe the fort: gave order, that all with one consent should run throw the river and not mind any other forme: but he that could gett first to the fort, if they had opportunity, to offer them peace. If they would not accept it to fall on, and by that time they

* Pejepscoot, since Brunswick.

† Doubtless the Falls now called *Lewiston Falls*.

were well entred the rest would be come up: also I gave order for 2 companies to spread between the woods and the fort to preuent the escape of the enemie that way — all which was attended. We were very wett running throw the riuier, but got up undiscovered to the fort till within shott: few Indians we found three, but two men and a lad of about: 18: with some women and children: 5 ran into the riuier, 3 or 4 of which were killed. The lad of 18 made his escape up the riuier* to another place where there was corn, about 40, or 50 miles up, as afterwards we were well informed. We killed 6 or 7, and took eleven. Lodged in the fort that night. Only one of our men was wounded in that little scirmish. We made use of noe other firewood but the fort all the time we were there. Munday being the 15th instant, we hauing examined the Indians and the English captives, made search for corne and other plunder. We found a pretty deal of corn in barnes underground, and destroyed it; also we found guns and amunition a pretty deal, with beauer, and we took 5 English captives, viz. Lieut. Robert Hookins† his widow of Oyster River; Benjamin Barnards wife of Salmon Falls; Ann Heard of Cochecho; one Willises daughter of Oyster Riuier, and a boy of Exeter.‡ Both Indians and English informed us that the enemy had lately had a consultation. Many of them were for peace and many against it, and had hired and procured about 300, and intended for Wells with a

* Church was severely censured for allowing this Indian to escape, while there is nothing to show that it was in his power to have prevented it. As there were no newspapers in those days, it is not easy to ascertain what the grumbler had to say.

† *Huckins*. Huckins Garrison was surprised on the previovs August, and 18 persons were killed and captivated. — Belknap, i, 131, Farmer's edition. I think Savage does not distinguish him.

‡ Perhaps taken at Hucking's garrison, as I find no mention of any mischief at Exeter at this period.

flagg of truce and offer them peace. If they could not agree then to fall on. If they could not take Wells, then they resolved to attack Piscattaqua; the which, when we were well informed of we left two old squaws that were not able to march; gave them victuals enough for one week of their own corn boiled, and a litle of our prouisions, and buried their dead, and left them clothes enough to keep them warme, and left the wigwams for them to lye in, — gave them orders to tell theire friends how kind we were to them, — bidding them doe the like to ours: also, if they were for peace to come to goodman Smalls att Barwick within 14 dayes, who would attend to discourse them. Then we came away with our own 5 captives and 9 of theirs, and waded throw the river, and returned in that day and one more to our vessells at Macquait: we made all haste imaginable, for fear some of our towns should be attacked before we came home, and through the goodness of god we were, most of us, well, and found all the vessells well, and went all on board and sett saile: only (as god would have it) one of our vessells run aground, which we did not understand (being in the night) and haueing left her we soon mist her, Capt. Alden concluding she had run aground. And before she came clear, there escaped one Anthony Brackett * of Casco, who was informed by the lad that escaped from Amoscoggin aforesaid, of our army: he [Bracket] made his escape, got into our track, and came to Macquait, hollowed to the vessell, that heard him, and gladly took him on board. The rest of our fleet bore up and com to Winter Harbor, where I sent out a scout of 60 men to Salco Falls to make discouery; the rest in arms ready on shore: intending at their returne to march by land to Wells. The

* The same before mentioned. He is duly noticed in Mr. Willis' *Hist. Portland*.

scout met with a small pty. upon the riuer, making fish and other prouisions, viz. old Dony and his crue, — about 40, in all. The enemie being on the other side the riuer, ours could not come at them: they made shot at them: killed one Dicks, a baco* man, and got him on shore: 2 more men sank in the riuer: some of ours swam ouer the riuer, took their cannoos and plunder. At this scirmish Lt. Hunniwell† was shot thorow the thigh. There we took a pretty deale of powder, shot and lead, and other plunder, and 8 or 9 cannoos; also we destroyed 4 or 5 cannoos at Amascoggent. The men we took from them at Salco, told us that the enemie from Cape Sables and all quarters were looked for by that time to rendezvouze att Pechepscutt: also that he knew that the enemie had brought beauer and other goods to Pechepscutt, Plaine, and hid them: he supposed it was a gratuity for the eastward Indians: also, that he himselfe knew within half a mile where it was hid. This made us alter our former intention; and took ship and sailed to a place more eastward then Macquait (called Mare Point.‡) Landed our men by daylight, about 250: marched round in the woods: some upon the eastward of Pechepscutt. In our march we espied a cannoo with 3 or 4 Indians in Macquait Bay. We made after them, but they got out of our reach. When we got upon the Plaine we parted into 3 companies: found none of the enemie; but we found the plunder: of which a pretty deale of powder and shot. Then we returned and imbarqued, and made the best of our way to Casco: came in there in the evening, being the 20th

* Abaco, probably, the largest of the Bahama Isles. Known also by the name *Lucaya*.

† Afterwards much distinguished as an Indian fighter. His given name was Richard.

‡ Modernly *Marepoint* and *Mare-point*. It is in Brunswick, being the eastern shore of Macquait. — See accompanying Map.

instant. There I concluded to land, and send the ablest part by land towards Wells: but I landed the most part of the men and went on shore and ordered them where they should lodge; but the Indians in particular I ordered to such a house, or else to goe on board again; but they, contrary to my order, took up their lodge on the riuer by Papooducke* side, where the enemie had lately rande-uouzed. All the rest of the comandes and companies were where I ordered them to be. The enemie discovered the Indians fires, — came in the night and discouered where the Companies lay, and ambushed them at day-light: made a shot upon our Indians; it being the 21st instant, and the Sabbath day. Our English arose to the succour of the Indians, friends; being all ready at break of day, pr. my order, and drawing up towards them, many were wounded and slain: the enemie haveing great advantage of ours; for the light of the day, and stares reflecting upon the waters gave them advantage to see us, when as we could not see them att all, against the dark woods: especially we could not se to distinguish between our Indians and theirs. Whereupon I ordered to lie still under the sea bancks till day-light: I coming on shore the second boat, and see the difficulty: but the enemie fired hard upon the vessells and boats coming on shore: and when the day was light enough, I ordered the men to arise from the banks, and run all upon them at once; the which we did, and soon put them to the flight, — followed them hard thorow a swamp, firing briskly. They knowing where there cannoos were, got their wounded men into them before we came up, and most of them put off. Our men affirmed but two that they see killed. We took 2 guns and

* On the opposite side of the river from what is since Portland. Usually written *Purpooduck*. It was probably earlier settled than the place afterwards named Portland. — See *Map* in Willis.

many blankets and gun-cases, and 4 cannoos.* The rest of the enemy ran into the woods. We went on board sent away two vessels with the captives and sick and wounded men, and buried our dead, which was 3 English and 4 Indians. The wounded were 17 English and 7 Indians.† Them that were slain were chiefly Plimouth. The wounded of Capt. Connyerse,‡ 6; Capt. Floyd,§ 3; Capt. Southworth, 4; Capt. Waltons,|| 3; of Capt. Andrews,¶ one, (since that); one Englishman of Plimouth is dead of his wounds, and an Indian: also an Indian and Englishman both of Plimouth dead of the small-pox. We embarked and came to Cape Neddicke, the 22d day, and marched with about 200 men, (all we had fitt for service,) to Wells: Sent a scout the next day to Salco and Winter Harbour,—about 24 miles: made no discoverie of the enemy later than we were there before. Then we returned and come to Portsmouth the 26th instant, because our doctor was gon home with the wounded men, and our men were seueral of them sick and lame, and wanted shoose and other recruits; or else we would have gon further before we had com home. The Indians we brought home were John Hawkenses wife and 4 children. We took his brother-in-law, who ran away from us in our return home. This John Hawkins** is the sagamore that headed the Indians that

* “Following them close, we took thirteen canoes, and one lusty man, who had Joseph Ramsdel’s scalp by his side.”—Church, 194.

† The slain were principally Indians. Their names, if preserved, I have not met with. One of the “3 English” was probably Joseph Ramsdel, mentioned in the last note. Lewis says Ramsdel was a soldier impressed from Lynn by Andros. *Hist. Lynn*, 177, ed. 1844. There was a family of Ramsdels at Plymouth. Joseph R. had a son Daniel, born at Plymouth, 14 Sept. 1649.

‡ James *Convers*, greatly distinguished afterwards in Indian wars.

§ John Floyd, of Malden, perhaps.—See *Magnalia*, B. vii, 75.

|| Shadrach Walton, of Somersworth, N. H.

¶ Elisha *Andros*.

** An Indian chief whose native name was *Kankamagus*. See an account of him in the *Book of the Indians*, 297, edition 1851.

took Cochecho. Two children also of Wolumboo, sagamore of Amoscoggen; and one girle more, whose father and mother were slaine in the scirmish. John Hawkins sister was also slaine att the same time. And we returned to Portsmouth the 26th instant. Intend with all hast to go to Toconnock; but many cross things falling out to frustrate the designe, too long here to relate: but from Major Pike your honors will hear more at large. This with my service to your honours I rest and remaine your honours most humble servant ready to serue,*

“Your Honour

“BENJAMIN CHURCH.”

* In the chirography of Capt. Bassitt.

CHAPTER IX.

Original Letter of Major Pike in Defence of Major Church. — Charges against Dr. I. Mather Reviewed. — Remarks on Quincy's over Severity. — On Calef's Animadversions. — Mather's own Defence. — Matthew Mead. — Sir H. Ashurst. — Reasons why Plymouth was not Chartered as a Separate Colony.

“Salsbury, March 23, 1690–1.

“May it please Y^r. Hon^r. — Sir, After the tender of my humble respects, these lines (having so fayre an oportunity to send them,) are with respect to Major Church and the other gentlemen, that from your part accompanied him in thayre Majesties service in our parts the last somer. First to give yourself and them of your colony for sending them, and they for coming, my harty thanks; praying the lord to requite it to you, and to supply all your needs at all times and to your own safty. Secondly to declare unto you, that I am hartily sory to hear of the ill requital that he have met with, if all be true, as I have heard, namely, that he is unworthily reproached as unfaithfull, or cowardly, or wors; what the reason of it, or whether it be true. That he is so renderd I am not certain, but this I judge it my duty to say, that in that little happy aquintance that I had with him in that design, (myself having the chief conduct thereof,) I found him to be very forward, faithful and dilligent, vigerous and expeditious in despach, at thayr first going forth; and in our privatt consel casting on [one] thing and another, resolved to keep faethfull and close to duty, (whatever *prevented* the issue.) And after

his return, was industrious, (as I thought,) beyond measure, to have promoted a second mosion, which might have been of good advantage, with god's blessing, (coold it ben accomplisht,) which had certainly ben don, had we had *supplies*, tho his Indians went away; and as for the time thay wear out, thayr improovment was great, and the succses answerable, god favoring them with winds, so as that they accomplisht the breaking of the hant of the enemy, and made them su for peac; and coold they have gon the second time it might have ben what god saw good to make it. And I [would] that envy of men do not rob god of the prays du to him. All that I coold take notis of, was, the sparing of the Indian that was taken and run away, for which the Major was blamed. To which I shall only say, it was what it was: his comison from your-selves did bare it, and he had experienced good by it, and doubtless hoped for the like now; and his runing away was not intended by him; and to expect absolute perfection in any is to account him more than a man; and not to allow him the accidents of imperfection is to deny him that which makes him less than a man. — Sir, I humbly crave your pardon of this my boldness and rude aplycation, who am constrayned to break of abruptly for hast, and to excuse all that is amiss, upon the good afection of him that is, honoured Sir, your hon^r. most humble servant

“ROBT. PIKE.”

CHARGES AGAINST DR. I. MATHER REVIEWED.

Part IV, page 138. The author does not appear to have been conversant with the entire history of Dr. Increase Mather's negotiations respecting the New Charter, as it was called. I do not find that any accused Mr. Mather of “duplicity” in regard to his preventing Plymouth from obtaining a separate Charter. It is pretty evident that

Massachusetts stood first on his list to be looked out for. If he prevented Plymouth from being included in New York, it was an act for which that Colony ought to have been very grateful. That such a scheme should ever have been thought of is one of those strange freaks having its origin in some politician's brain, who had in view only his own and friends' aggrandizement.

In all the skirmishing against Mr. Mather after his return, the question of his having wronged Plymouth in his negotiations is nowhere prominent. In his own Colony there were those who thought and wrote that he did not procure all that he might for them ; and some accused him of having the aggrandizement of his own family in view to the neglect of more important matters. In these accusations the late author of the History of Harvard College has gone far beyond those of Mr. Mather's time ; which may be thought a little singular, because it is always expected that the public acts of a man are criticised many fold harsher when the real or supposed injured parties are suffering in reality, or in opinion. Even Mr. Robert Calef, who discovers no disposition to favor Mr. Mather, and has brought the heaviest charges against him is much more lenient than Mr. Quincy. And neither of them, if I remember correctly, charges him with unfairness towards Plymouth.

Such, however, were the clamors against Mr. Mather at the time, that he thought it necessary to put forth the following defence of himself. It is the more necessary to be inserted here, as the transaction which occasioned it forms a momentous chapter in the history of New England, and has been lost sight of by the historians. His defence is taken from that work written in answer to Mr. Calef's insinuation in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World," &c.

“The Reverend Mr. Increase Mather is charged with unfaithfulness in his negotiation in England, as Agent on the behalf of this Colony. Mr. Calef says, ‘The Agents did not, all of them, act according to the mind and interest of those that impowered them, which is manifest by their not acting jointly in what they did.’ Herein he not only reflects upon that well known and eminent servant of Christ, and his people, but also upon Sir Henry Ashurst, a worthy gentleman, who did (as we are well assured) with all the care and pains imaginable, seek the good of New England, and thereby has laid us under endless obligations of gratitude. We hope the friends of New England, will not think that all persons will treat them so ill, as this man endeavors to do. It is as certain to us as any such things can be, that neither Sir Henry nor Mr. Mather acted in the public affairs of this colony, any otherwise then according to the best advice of the best and wisest friends to New England, then residing in London, with whom they always consulted. But if Mr. Mather’s words are not to be taken in his own case, then take the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Mead,* in a letter to a gentleman in Boston, well known to us, which runs thus :—

“‘Mr. Mather has deserved highly of New England, for the unfainting diligence, and indefatigable endeavors he has shewed in his Agency for that people ; and while some with you may perhaps wonder that he has obtained no more, we here, who have the advantage of a better prospect, wonder that he hath done so much. And if men reward not his great work, and labor of love, I am sure God will. What he has done has not been without the

* The Rev. Matthew Mead, a dissenting minister, at Stepney, near London, ejected in 1662, died 1699. He was held in the highest esteem by good men of all sects.

counsel and advice of the best friends that country has in this, both Parliament men, Lawyers, and Ministers. And to be thankful for what you have for the present, is the way to get what you want hereafter.'

"Thus writes that eminent person, who is now gone to a better world. To confirm this we have in our hand a printed extract of a letter from the Right Worshipful Sir Henry Ashurst, to the General Assembly in Boston, whose words are, 'I have not for above twelve months troubled you with any of my letters because I knew my worthy friend, Mr. Mather, did not omit any opportunity of acquainting you with everything wherein your interest was concerned. I shall not much enlarge upon the services that Mr. Mather hath done, for you have his true character sent you by the Rev. Dr. Bates and others, the most eminent Ministers in and about this town [London.] But I am sure he has been faithful to your interests and diligent and unwearied in your service, with the neglect of his health. He hath lived here for you, and deserveth the greatest marks of your favor you can bestow on him. Mr. Mather and myself, in transacting your affairs, did not leave any way unattempted, that the wisest friends we could consult with could direct us unto. When the King was petitioned to make alterations in your settlement, and to appoint a Governor, and other General officers, we then joined all our interest together, and obtained the naming of every one of them, and other privileges that are not granted to any other Plantations. None have been more industrious by all possible means than Mr. Mather and myself, to have obtained your Old Charter. I hope Mr. Mather will do me that justice, to assure you, that I have never omitted any opportunity of serving you to the utmost of my power.'"

Hence it is apparent, that if Dr. Mather used *deception*, Sir Henry Ashurst must have been cognizant of the fact. But there never was even a suspicion that Sir Henry connived in any way. Besides his high and manly character, he could have had no motive to do any thing inconsistent with perfect justice. He was concerned for the welfare of the whole of New England; and no man out of it knew its interests better.

The Letters of Mr. Mead and Sir Henry Ashurst make it unnecessary to extract that of the "Thirteen Eminent Divines in London," which is only confirmatory of those above extracted. One passage however follows:—"The Truth is, your affairs were so difficult and thorny, that the rare union of the wisdom of the Serpent, and the innocence of the Dove, was requisite in the Commissioners managing of it. A peremptory refusal of any Charter, but of an uniform tenor with the first, had been like too strong a medicine that exasperates the disease instead of curing it."

From what is at this day easily gathered, it is quite certain that Plymouth, if she had anything to complain of, it was the want of ability in her own Agents to perform the necessary service. But the difficulty did not so much lie in any want of ability in the agents as in the nature of the case. A correct knowledge of a good map of the Old Colony was doubtless a weightier argument against a separate Charter than any advanced from other quarters.

From such letters as were written from London at the time of the negotiations, by the Agents, chiefly to Gov. Hinckley, and preserved by Mr. Prince in the New England Library, there does not appear any grounds of impeachment against the fair dealing of Dr. Increase Mather. This judgment is the result of a careful perusal of the originals. In a letter which the Doctor wrote to Gov. Hinckley, dated London, May 24th, 1690, the situation of affairs

is admirably set forth. The substance of this letter he embodied in his reply to Mr. Calef, which may be seen in the new edition of this Author's "More Wonders," &c., shortly to be issued; being now nearly through the press.

It would seem that the Doctor wrote more fully to his son, in a letter which probably accompanied that to Gov. Hinckley, before mentioned; and which letter of the Doctor's was forwarded by the son, accompanied by one of his own. It is to this that Mr. Baylies probably alludes on pages 134 and 135, of Part IV. This letter of Mather the younger will also be found among the Hinckley papers, mentioned above.

ERRATA IN PART V.

- On page 16, for 1844, read 1846, and strike out the word *about*, next before it.
On page 56, third line from foot of first paragraph, for *will be*, insert *as*.
On page 68, tenth line, read *Southworth*.
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I N D E X.

NOTE.—The Roman numerals denote the different PARTS of the work, and the Arabic the PAGES of the Part next preceding said Arabic numerals. When no Roman numeral precedes, the reference is to PART i.

In a very few instances a capital Roman numeral will be found independent of Arabics; such refer to Introductory pages, marked with Romans.

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